

# HUDIBRAS:

IN THREE PARTS.

VOL. III.

A





# HUDIBRAS:

IN  
THREE PARTS.

Written in the Time of

THE LATE WARS.

BY  
SAMUEL BUTLER, Esq.

WITH LARGE  
ANNOTATIONS

BY  
ZACHARY GREY, LL.D.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

Carefully Compared and Corrected by the Cambridge Edition.

VOLUME the THIRD.

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H U D I B R A S :

T H R E E P A R T S .

IN THREE VOLUMES.

T H E L A T E W A R S .

BY

S A M U E L B U T L E R , E S Q .

WITH LARGE



A N D

P R I N T E D B Y J . D .

I N T H R E E V O L U M E S .

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# HUDIBRAS.

PART THIRD.



# HUDIBRAS.

## CANTO FIRST.

### THE ARGUMENT.

*The Knight and Squire resolve at once,  
The one the other to renounce.  
They both approach the Lady's bower,  
The Squire t' inform, the Knight to woo her.  
She treats them with a Masquerade,  
By furies and hobgoblins made:  
From which the Squire conveys the Knight,  
And steals him from himself, by Night.*

**T**IS true, no lover has that pow'r  
T' enforce a desperate amour,  
As he that has two Strings t' his Bow,  
And burns for Love and Money too;  
For then he's brave and resolute,  
**Disdains** to render in his suit,

We are now come to the Third Part of Hudibras, which is considerably longer than either the First or the Second: and yet, can the severest critic say that Mr Butler grows insipid in his invention, or falters in his judgment? No; he still continues to shine in both these excellencies; and, to manifest the extensiveness of his abilities, he leaves no art untried to spin out these adventures to a length proportionable to his wit and satire. I dare say the reader is not weary of him, nor will he be so at the conclusion of the Poem: and the reason is evident, because this Last Part is as fruitful of wit and humour as the former; and a poetic fire is equally diffused through the whole Poem, that burns every where clearly, and every where irresistibly. Mr. B.

Has all his Flames and Raptures double,  
 And *hangs*, or *drowns*, with half the trouble :  
 While those who fillily pursue  
 The simple, downright way and true, 10  
 Make as unlucky applications,  
 And steer against the stream their passions :  
 Some forge their Mistresses of Stars ;  
 And when the ladies prove averse,  
 And more untoward to be won, 15  
 Than by Caligula the Moon,  
 Cry out upon the stars for doing  
 Ill offices, to cross their *wooing* ;  
 When only by themselves they're hinder'd,  
 For trusting *those they made her Kindred* ; 20  
 And still, the harsher and hide-bounder  
 The damsels prove, become the fonder.

Y. 15, 16. *And more untoward to be won,—Than by Caligula the Moon.*] \* Caligula was one of the Emperors of Rome, son of Germanicus and Agrippina. He would needs pass for a God, and had the heads of the ancient statues of the gods taken off, and his own placed on in their stead, and used to stand between the statues of Castor and Pollux to be worshipped, and often bragged of lying with the moon. *Vide Suetonii Caliguli, cap. 22. Philonis Judai, lib. 2. De Legatione ad Caium, Colon: Allobrog. 1613. p. 776, 777.* Mr Fenton's Observations upon Mr Waller's Poems, p. 87.

Y. 20. *For trusting those they made her Kindred.*] The meaning of this fine passage is, that when men have flattered their mistresses so extravagantly as to make them goddesses, they are not to be surpris'd if their mistresses treat them with all that distance and severity which beings of a superior order think their right towards inferior creatures; nor have they reason to complain of what is but the effect of their own indiscretion. Mr W.

See this exemplified in the character of Flavia, in the Tatler, (No. 139.), who observes, that at that time there were three goddesses in the New Exchange, and two shepherdesses that sold gloves in Westminster-Hall; and in Shakspeare's Troilus and Cressida, act iii, vol. VII. p. 61.



Canto I. H U D I B R A S.

For what mad lover ever dy'd,  
 To gain a soft and gentle Bride ?  
 Or for a lady tender-hearted, 25  
 In *purling Streams* or *Hemp* departed ?  
 Leap'd headlong int' *Elysium*,  
 Thro' th' windows of a *dazzling Room* ?  
 But for some cross ill-natur'd dame,  
 The am'rous fly burnt in his Flame. 30  
 This to the Knight could be no news,  
 With all mankind so much in use ;  
 Who therefore took the wiser course,  
 To make the most of his Amours,  
 Resolv'd to try all sorts of ways, 35  
 As follows in due Time and Place.  
 No sooner was the bloody fight,  
 Between the Wizard and the Knight,  
 With all th' appurtenances, over,  
 But he relaps'd again t' a Lover : 40  
 As he was always wont to do,  
 When h' had discomfited a foe ;

℥. 23, 24, 25, 26. *For what mad lover ever dy'd,—To gain a soft and gentle Bride ?—Or for a lady tender-hearted, In purling Streams or Hemp departed ?*] See an account of the lover's leap, from the promontory of Acarnania, called *Leucate*, (Spect. No. 223, 227.); and of the several persons who took that leap, their reasons for so doing, and their good or bad success. *Ibid.* No. 233.

℥. 41, 42. *As he was always wont to do,—When h' had discomfited a foe ;*] The Knight had been seized with a love-fit, immediately after his imaginary victory at the bear-baiting. (Part I. canto iii. ver. 372, &c.) And the conquest he had gained in his late desperate engagement with *Sidrophel*, has now the same effect upon him. This humour will appear very natural and polite, if the opinion he had of women be right; which he declares, in a vain-glorious soliloquy, upon his first victory; for which I beg leave to refer the reader to part I. canto iii, &c.

As a consequent of this principle, the Knight, whenever



And us'd the only Antique Philters,  
 Deriv'd from old Heroic Tilters.  
 But now triumphant and victorious, 45  
 He held th' atchievement was too glorious,  
 For such a conqueror to meddle  
 With Petty Constable or Beadle;  
 Or fly for refuge to the Hostess  
 Of th' inns of court and Chancery, Justice; 50  
 Who might, perhaps, reduce his cause  
 To th' Ordeal Trial of the laws;

he obtained a victory, or fancied so, which to him and Don Quixote was as good, he wildly thought himself possessed of all those endowments; and from thence strongly imagined his amours would be irresistible. 'Tis true, he gained but a few victories, and therefore 'tis no wonder his heart was elated with hopes of gaining the Widow, and his imagination raised to an enthusiastic claim of glory, when he was favoured by Fortune. Thus upon his first victory he was cock-a'-hoop, and thought,

——“ H' had done enough to purchase  
 “ Thanksgiving-day among the churches;  
 “ Wherein his mettle and brave worth,  
 “ Might be explain'd by holder-forth.”

And he is now posting away with full speed to his mistress, upon his second victory, boldly to demand her person and possessions. Mr B.

ψ. 43. *And us'd, &c.*] *And us'd as*, in edit. 1678. \* *Philters* were love potions, reported to be much in request in former ages; but our true Knight-errant hero made use of no other but what his noble atchievements by his sword produced.

ψ. 51, 52. *Who might perhaps reduce his cause—To th' Ordeal Trial of the Laws.*] There were four sorts of Ordeal, the first by camp, fight, or combat; the second by iron made hot; the third by hot water; and the fourth by cold. To the second sort it was that Emma, mother to King Edward the Confessor, submitted, when suspected of incontinency with Alwin bishop of Winchester; who, when she had passed nine hot plowshares blindfolded without hurt, she left so many manours to the cathedral of Winchester. (See Sir Thomas Ridley's View of the Civil Law, part i,

Where none escape, but such as branded  
 With red-hot irons have past bare-handed;  
 And if they cannot read one Verse 55  
 I th' Psalms, must sing it, and that's worse.

p. 116. edit. 8vo. Lambard, under the word *Ordalium*.) King Edward, repenting the injury he had done his mother, gave to the same church the Isle of Portland, and other possessions. (See Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, by Hearne, p. 334, 340. Echard's History of England, vol. i. p. 118.) See a further account of the several kinds of trial by Ordeal. *Spelmanni Glossar*. 1664. p. 435. Verstegan's restitution of decayed Intelligence, edit. Antwerp. 1605. p. 63, &c. Dr Howel's Institut. of General History, &c. part IV. chap. 2. sect. x. p. 257, 324, &c. History of remarkable Trials of Great Britain in 8vo, 1715. p. 1, to 17. inclusive. *Vide Officium Ordalii; Append. ad Fascicul. Rer. expetend. et fugiend. e Textu Roffensi*, p. 903, &c.

ψ. 55, 56. And if they cannot read one Verse—I th' Psalms, must sing it.] By this is meant the Benefit of Clergy, which is a thing often mentioned, and as little understood; for which reason it may not be amiss to explain the rise and meaning of it. In old times few persons were bred to learning, or could read, but those who were actually in orders, or educated for that purpose; so that if such a person was arraign'd before a temporal judge for any crime, (the punishment whereof was death) he might pray his clergy, that was, to have a Latin bible in a black Gothic character delivered to him; and if he could read (not sing, as the Poet says) in a place where the judge appointed, which was generally in the Psalms, the Ordinary thereupon certified *Quod legit*, and the criminal was saved, as being a man of learning, and might therefore be useful to the public; otherwise he was sure to be hanged. This privilege was granted in all offences but high treason and sacrilege, (*Ex quibusdam felonis ex acerrimo genere non existentibus, mortis judicium effugiant rei literariae experti; si legentes clericos se esse profiteantur; clericali ordini ita olim indultum est, fœminis interea repudiatis, uti ordinis illius minime capacibus. Spelmanni Glossar. sub voc. Felo, Felonia, et Fullonia*, p. 214.) till after the year 1350; and was so great, that if a criminal was condemned at one assize, because he could not read, and was reprieved to the subsequent assize, he might again demand this benefit, either

He therefore judging it below him,  
 To tempt a shame the *Devil might owe him*,  
 Resolv'd to leave the Squire for Bail  
 And Mainprize for him, to the Gaol, 60  
 To answer, with his vessel, all  
 That might disastrously befall;

then, or even under the gallows; and if he could then read, he was of course to be pardoned; of which there is an instance in Queen Elizabeth's time. It was at first extended not only to the clergy, but to any other person who could read; who must however declare that he vowed, or was resolved to enter into orders. But as learning increased, this benefit of the clergy was restrained by several acts of parliament, and now is wholly taken away, the benefit being allowed in all clergyable felonies. Dr B. Mr B.

In Hudibras's days, they used to sing a psalm at the gallows; and therefore he that by not being able to read a verse in the Psalms, was condemn'd to be hanged, must sing, or at least hear a verse sung under the gallows before he was turned off. Mr Cotton alludes to this in the following lines.

"Ready, when Dido gave the word,

"To be advanc'd into the halter,

"Without the benefit on's psalter."

Virgil Travestie, book iv. p. 145.

"Then, 'cause she would, to part the sweeter,

"A portion have of Hopkins' metre,

"As people use at execution,

"For the decorum of conclusion,

"Being too sad to sing, she says." Cotton, *ibid.* p. 145.

'Tis reported of one of the chaplains to the famous Montrose, that being condemn'd in Scotland to die, for attending his master in some of his glorious exploits, and being upon the ladder, and ordered to set out a psalm, expecting a reprieve, he named the 119th psalm, (with which the officers attending the execution complied, the Scots presbyterians being great psalm-fingers); and 'twas well for him he did so, for they had sung it half through before the reprieve came. Any other psalm would have hanged him.

Y. 59. *Resolv'd to leave the Squire for Bail.*] See note on verse 1198 of Canto iii. Part II. and Sancho Pancho's complaint against Don Quixote, in the braying adventure, vol. III. chap. xxviii. p. 278.

And thought it now the fittest juncture  
 To give the lady a rencounter,  
 T' acquaint her with his expedition, 65  
 And conquest o'er the fierce *Magician* :  
 Describe the manner of the fray,  
 And shew the spoils he brought away ;  
 His bloody Scourging aggravate,  
 The number of the blows, and weight ; 70  
 All which might probably succeed,  
 And gain belief h' had done the deed.  
 Which he resolv'd t' enforce, and spare  
 No pawning of his soul, to swear :  
 But rather than produce his back, 75  
 To set his conscience on the rack ;  
 And in pursuance of his urging  
 Of articles perform'd, and scourging,  
 And all things else, upon his part,  
 Demand deliv'ry of her heart, 80  
 Her goods, and chattels, and good graces,  
 And person, up to his embraces.  
 Thought he, the ancient Errant Knights  
 Won all their ladies hearts in Fights :  
 And cut whole giants into fritters, 85  
 To put them into amorous twitters ;

y. 85, 86. *And cut whole giants into fritters,—To put them into amorous twitters ;*] In what high esteem with their mistresses, upon this principle, must the Knight of the Burning Sword have been, who with a single back-stroke cut in sunder two fierce and mighty giants ! (*Don Quixote*, vol. i. p. 4.) ; or Don Felixmarte of Hircania, who, with one single back-stroke, cut five swinging giants off by the middle, like so many bean-stalks, (*Don Quixote*, vol. ii. part 1. p. 60.) ; or Uffo, whose monumental inscription we meet with (*Turkish Spy*, vol. V. book iv. letter 13.) in the following words : “ I Uffo, fighting for my country, with my own hand killed thirty-two giants ; and at last being

Whose stubborn bowels scorn'd to yield,  
 Until their Gallants were half kill'd :  
 But when their bones were drub'd so sore,  
 They durst not wooe one Combat more, 90  
 The ladies' hearts began to melt,  
 Subdu'd by blows their lovers felt.  
 So Spanish Heroes with their lances  
 At once wound Bulls, and Ladies Fancies ;  
 And he acquires the noblest spouse 95  
 That widows greatest herds of cows :  
 Then what may I expect to do,  
 Wh' have quell'd so vast a Buffalo ?

" killed by the giant Rolvo, my body lyes here ;" or Hycophix (commonly called *Hycethrifi*), who, with an axletree for a sword, and a cart-wheel for a buckler, is said to have killed two giants, and to have done great service for the common people in the fenny part of England. See Mr Hearne's Glossary to Robert of Gloucester, p. 640.

ψ. 87, 88. *Whose stubborn bowels scorn'd to yield,—Until their Gallants were half kill'd.*] See an account of Phelis's sending Guy Earl of Warwick out upon adventures. Famous History of Guy Earl of Warwick, canto 2. and cant. 7.

ψ. 89, 90, 91. *But when their bones were drub'd so sore,—They durst not wooe one Combat more,—The Ladies' hearts began to melt.*] See a banter upon knights-errant, and their hard-hearted mistresses, Spectator, No. 99. Don Quixote observes, (vol. I. p. 66.) " That a knight-errant " must never complain of his wounds, though his bowels " were dropping out through them."

ψ. 93. *So Spanish Heroes with their lances, &c.*] \* The young Spaniards signalized their valour before the Spanish ladies at bull-feasts, which often proved very hazardous, and sometimes fatal to them. It is performed by attacking of a wild bull, kept up on purpose, and let loose at the combatant; and he that kills most, carries the laurel, and dwells highest in the Ladies' favour. See a large account of their bull-feasts in confirmation, Lady's Travels into Spain, part iii. letter 10.

ψ. 98. — *quell'd so vast a Buffalo.*] A wild American ox.



Mean while the Squire was on his way,  
 The *Knight's* late Orders to obey : 100  
 Who sent him for a *strong Detachment*  
 Of Beadles, Constables, and Watchmen,  
 T' attack the Cunning-man for plunder  
 Committed falsely on his lumber ;  
 When he, who had so lately sack'd : 105  
 The enemy, had done the fact ;  
 Had rifled all his pokes and fobs  
 Of Gimcracks, Whims, and Jiggumbobs,  
 Which he by hook or crook had gather'd,  
 And for his own inventions father'd : 110  
 And when they shou'd, at Goal Delivery,  
 Unriddle one another's thievery,  
 Both might have evidence enough,  
 To render neither halter-proof :  
 He thought it desperate to tarry, 115  
 And venture to be *accessary*;  
 But rather wisely slip his fetters,  
 And leave them for the Knight, his Betters.  
 He call'd to mind th' unjust foul play  
 He would have offer'd him that day, 120  
 To make him curry his own hide,  
 Which no beast ever did beside,  
 Without all possible evasion,  
 But of the Riding Dispensation :  
 And therefore, much about the hour 125  
 The Knight (for reasons told before)

ψ. 108. — *and Jiggumbobs.*] Another name for trinkets, or jimcracks. Dr B.

ψ. 115, 116. *He thought it desperate to tarry, — And venture to be accessary.*] Accessory, (by statute), a person who encourages, advises, and conceals an offender, who is guilty of felony by statute. Bailey. Jacob's Law Dictionary.

Resolv'd to leave him to the fury  
Of Justice, and an *unpack'd Jury*,  
The Squire concurr'd t' abandon him,  
And serve him in the self-same trim;

130

*V. 129, 130. The Squire concurr'd t' abandon him,—And serve him in the self-same trim.]* I fear the Poet has rendered himself obnoxious to censure in this place, where he has made the conduct of Ralph unnatural and improbable: for no sooner had the Knight learned that Whachum was the thief, and Sidrophel the receiver of his cloak, &c. but he dispatches Ralphe for a constable, which was a prudent and a lawful action; and we are told, that the Squire immediately obeyed him: but why he should, in the way, apprehend any danger from, or decline performing so dutiful and necessary a piece of service, is strange and unaccountable. The encounter between the Knight and Sidrophel happened after Ralph's departure; so that if the Knight's proceedings were illegal, he could not fear any thing from thence, because he was not only innocent, but ignorant of them; and as for Sidrophel and his Zany, he was certain they were notorious offenders, from Sidrophel's own confession: besides, he was sensible that he had left the Knight in a critical situation, guarding his two prisoners, who, he might be sure, would leave no means untried to annoy their enemy, and make their escape; it thence became Ralpho to be dutiful and expeditious in relieving his master out of such imminent danger; his conduct to the contrary is therefore unnatural. What the Poet says in the lines before us, can be no excuse for Ralpho; and, let me observe, they are inconsistently urged in his favour; because the Knight's private determination for the intended ruin of him, must be entirely unknown to one that was absent, which was Ralpho's case. As it therefore does not appear that he had, or could possibly have any intelligence of the Knight's designs, what reason can be given to justify his deserting his master at this juncture, and revealing his intrigues to his mistress? It is true, indeed, it was necessary she should be informed of them, that the hypocrisy and odiousness of such a character might be openly detected by a lady: and, with a good-natured reader, this necessity may palliate the marvellous method of supplying it: and perhaps it may be said, that Ralpho's service was voluntary and free; or that he was rather



T' acquaint the Lady what h' had done,  
And what he meant to carry on ;

What project 't was he went about,  
When Sidrophel and he fell out :

His firm and stedfast resolution,

135

To swear her to an Execution ;

To pawn his inward ears to marry her,

And bribe the devil himself to carry her.

In which both dealt, as if they meant

Their Party-saints to represent,

140

a companion than servant to Sir Hudibras ; but this will not excuse him : for as soon as he entered himself as a Squire to a Knight-errant, the laws of chivalry (which the Poet should have adhered to) obliged him not to quit his arms, nor his service, without the knowledge and approbation of his Knight, to whose behests he ought to have been obedient and trusty : and accordingly we find Sancho very often soliciting Don Quixote for his permission to return to La Mancha ; and no one will say, that the rules of knighthood are not there exactly delineated. Nothing that I know of can be urged in defence of the Poet, but that he has professedly drawn the character of his heroes odd and preposterous, and, consequently, that he might represent them so in their actions, to conserve a poetical uniformity in both ; and in particular he attributes to Ralpho, in this scene, that wonderful sagacity, foresight, foreknowledge and revelation, which his sect arrogantly pretended to : so that if we will dispense with these supernatural qualifications in Ralpho, they, and they only will solve the present difficulties. Mr B.

ψ. 137. *To pawn, &c.*] \* His exterior ears were gone before, and so out of danger ; but by inward ears is here meant his conscience.

ψ. 140. *Their Party-Saints to represent.*] This is to set forth the wicked tricks of all parties of those pretended saints, who were as ready to supplant and betray one another, as they were to supplant their professed enemies.  
Dr B.

“ The saints in masquerade would have us

“ Sit quietly, whilst they enslave us ;

Who never fail'd, upon their sharing,  
 In any prosperous Arms-bearing,  
 To lay themselves out to supplant  
 Each other Cousin-German Saint.

But e'er the Knight could do his part, 145  
 The Squire had got so much the start,  
 H' had to the lady done his errand,  
 And told her all his tricks afore-hand.  
 Just as he finish'd his report,

The Knight alighted in the Court; 150  
 And having ty'd his beast t' a pale,  
 And taking time for both to stale,  
 He put his band and beard in order,  
 The sprucer to accost and board her;  
 And now began t' approach the door, 155

When she, wh' had spy'd him out before,  
 Convey'd th' Informer out of sight,  
 And went to entertain the Knight:  
 With whom-encount'ring, *after Longees*  
*Of humble and submissive Congees,* 160  
 And all *due Ceremonies* paid,  
 He strok'd his beard, and thus he said:

" And what is worse, by lies and cants,  
 " Would trick us to believe them saints;  
 " And though by fines and sequestration,  
 " They've pillag'd and destroy'd the nation,  
 " Yet still they bawl for reformation."

Butler's Mem. of the Years 1649-50, Remains.

Y. 154. *The sprucer to accost and board her.*] So Petruccio, in Shakespeare's *Taming the Shrew*, act i. vol. II. p. 292.

Pet. " Hortensio, peace. Thou knowest not gold's effect:  
 " Tell me her father's name, and 'tis enough;  
 " For I will board her, though she chide as loud  
 " As thunder, when the clouds in autumn crack."

See *Hamlet Prince of Denmark*, act ii. vol. VII. p. 270.

Y. 162. *He strok'd his beard, and thus he said.*] The

Madam, I do, as is my duty,  
Honour the shadow of your shoe-tye :  
And now am come to bring your ear  
A present you'll be glad to hear;

165

Knight is very nice in regulating his dress, before he goes into the presence of his mistress: it behoved him to be so on this important occasion. It more particularly concerned him to accost her at this visit in a proper attitude, since at the last interview he was placed in the most unbecoming situation. The Poet will not let slip the Knight's action with his beard: probably, because to stroke the beard, before a person spoke, as a preparative to win favour and attention, was the fashion near three thousand years ago. This we learn from Homer, by a passage in the tenth book of the Iliad, where Dolon is about to supplicate Diomed for mercy, who had threatned, and then stood ready to kill him.

" Sternly he spoke, and as the wretch prepar'd,  
" With humble blandishment, to stroke his beard,  
" Like lightning swift the wrathful faulchion flew,  
" Divides the neck, and cuts the nerves in two."

Mr Pope, ver. 522, &c. Mr B.

Thus Patroclus is introduced by Shakespeare, (Troilus and Cressida, act i. vol. VII. p. 25.), acting Nestor, at the instance of Achilles.

" Now play me Nestor:—hum, and stroke thy beard; as  
" he, being 'drest to some oration." (See an account of Sancho Pancho's stroking his beard, Don Quixote, part I. book iii. chap. 12. And Trifaldin's stroking his beard, Don Quixote, vol. IV. chap. xxxvi. p. 362. And of Isaac Pennington, Cleveland's mix'd Assembly, Works, 1677, p. 43.) That stroking the beard was preparatory to the supplication of favours, appears from the following authority: *Usitatus tamen erat in supplicationibus, et precibus, quam venerationibus, barbam vel mentum tangere. Testis Ovidius,*

*Tange manu mentum, tanguit quo more precantes.*

*Optabis merito cum mala multa viro.*

*Facet. Facetiar. de Oculis, p. 236.*

The conversation of this visit is carried on in an extraordinary manner: a most notorious hypocrisy in the Knight, and an artful dissimulation in the Widow, are beautifully represented.

At least I hope so : the thing's done,  
Or may I never see the sun :

For which I humbly now demand  
Performance at your gentle hand :

170

And that you'd please to do your part,  
As I have done mine, to my smart.

With that he shrugg'd his sturdy back,  
As if he felt his shoulders ake.

But she, who well enough knew what  
(Before he spoke) he would be at,

175

Pretended not to apprehend

The mystery of what he mean'd :

And therefore wish'd him to expound :

His dark expressions, *less profound*.

180

Madam, quoth he, I come to prove

How much I've suffer'd for your love,

Which (like your votary) to win,

I have not spar'd my tatter'd skin :

And, for those meritorious lashes,

185

To claim your favour and good graces.

Quoth she, I do remember once

I freed you from th' enchanted scone ;

And that you promis'd, for that favour,

To bind your back to good behaviour,

190

And for my sake and service vow'd

To lay upon't a heavy load,

And what 'twould bear t' a scruple prove,

As other knights do oft make love.

Which, whether you have done or no,

195

Concerns yourself, not me, to know :

But if you have, I shall confess

Y' are honestest than I could guess.

Quoth he, If you suspect my troth,

I cannot prove it but by oath :

200

And if you make a question on't,  
 I'll pawn my soul that I have don't:  
 And he that makes his soul his surety,  
 I think does give the best security.

Quoth she, Some say the soul's secure 205

Against distress and forfeiture;

Is free from action, and exempt

From execution and contempt;

And to be summon'd to appear

In th' other world's illegal here: 210

And therefore few make any account,

Int' what incumbrances they run't.

For most men carry things so even

Between this world, and hell, and heaven,

Without the least offence to either, 215

They freely deal in all together;

*ψ. 209, 210. And to be summon'd to appear—In th' other world's illegal here.]* And yet there are such summonses upon record. Remarkable is the account of Peter and John de Carvajal, who were condemned for murder, upon circumstantial evidence; and that very frivolous, to be thrown from the summit of a rock. Ferdinand IV. the then King of Spain, could by no means be prevailed upon to grant their pardon. As they were leading to execution, they invoked God to witness their innocence, and appealed to his tribunal, to which they summoned the King to appear in thirty days time: he laugh'd at the summons; nevertheless, some days after he fell sick, and went to a place called *Alcaudet* to divert himself, and recover his health, and shake off the remembrance of the summons, if he could. Accordingly, the thirtieth day being come, he found himself much better, and after shewing a great deal of mirth and chearfulness on that occasion with his courtiers, and ridiculing the illusion, retired to his rest, but was found dead in his bed the next morning. This happened in the year 1312. See Richers's Abridgment of the History of the Royal Genealogy of Spain, 1724. page 180. Grimston's translation of Lewis de Mayerne. Turquet's General History of Spain, 1612, page 458.

And equally abhor to quit  
 This world for both, or both for it :  
 And when they pawn and damn their souls,  
 They are but pris'ners on paroles. 220

For that, quoth he, 'tis rational,  
 They may be accountable in all :  
 For when there is that intercourse  
 Between divine and human pow'rs,  
 That all that we determine here 225  
 Commands obedience every where ;  
 When penalties may be commuted  
 For fines, or ears, and executed ;  
 It follows, nothing binds so fast

As souls in pawn, and mortgage past : 230  
 For oaths are th' only tests and seals  
 Of right and wrong, and true and false :  
 And there's no other way to try  
 The doubts of law and justice by.  
 Quoth she, What is it you would swear ? 235  
 There's no believing till I hear :  
 For till they're understood, all tales  
 (Like nonsense) are not true, nor false.

ψ. 220. *They are but pris'ners on paroles.*] Mr. Anstis, Garter King at Arms, has, in his Register of the Garter, (vol. i. p. 171.), given an account of the obligations such prisoners are under.

“ In the seventh of Henry V. (says he) our Sir Simon (de Felbrig) was a witness of the promise made by Arthur “ of Bretagne, upon his releasement, to return, under the “ penalty of the reversal of his arms, which in that age “ was the mark of perpetual infamy. Now the clause com- “ monly inserted in agreements made with prisoners upon “ their ransom was, that in case they did not perform the “ conditions, they consented *reputari pro felone et infami,* “ *ac arma sua reversari.*” Rymer, vol. vii. p. 228. vol. ix. p. 444, 743, 744. Du Tillet *Recueil des Roys de France*, p. 432. *Froissart*, vol. ii. p. 123, &c.



Quoth he, When I resolv'd t' obey  
 What you commanded th' other day, 240  
 And to perform my exercise,  
 (As schools are wont) for your fair eyes;  
 T' avoid all scruples in the case,  
 I went to do't upon the place.  
 But as the castle is enchanted 245  
 By Sidrophel the witch, and haunted  
 With evil spirits, as you know,  
 Who took my Squire and me for two;  
 Before I'd hardly time to lay  
 My weapons by, and disarray, 250  
 I heard a formidable noise,  
 Loud as the *Stentrophonic Voice*,

ψ. 252. *Loud as the Stentrophonic Voice.*] Stentor, a famous crier in the Grecian army, who had a voice as loud as fifty men put together.

Στέντορι εἰσαμένη μεγαλήτορι χαλκεοφώνῳ

*Homeri Iliad. lib. v. ver. 785.*

"Heaven's impress mixes with the mortal croud,  
 "And shouts in Stentor's sounding voice aloud."

*Mr Pope.*

*Tu miser exclamas, ut Stentora vincere possis.*

*Juvenal, Sat. xiii. 113.*

"You rage, and storm, and blasphemously loud,  
 "As Stentor, bellowing to the Grecian croud."

*Mr Dryden.*

*Vide Erasmi Adag. chil. II. cent. iii. prov. 37.* Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq; (see Tatler, No. 37.) observes of Tom Belfrey; that he carried a note four furlongs, three rood, and six poles farther than any man in England. And Dr Derham (*Physico-Theology*, book IV. chap. iii. p. 134. edit. 1727.) makes mention of a Dutchman, who brake rummer-glasses with the strength of his voice.

Mr Butler probably alludes to the speaking-trumpet, which was much improved by Sir Samuel Moreland, in the year 1671, seven years before the publication of this Third Part. See *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. v. No. lxxix. p. 3056.



That roar'd far off, Dispatch and strip,  
 I'm ready with th' infernal whip,  
 That shall divest thy ribs of skin,      255  
 To expiate thy ling'ring sin.  
 Th' hast broke perfidiously thy oath,  
 And not perform'd thy plighted troth;  
 But spar'd thy renegado back,  
 Where th' hadst so great a prize at stake:      260  
 Which now the fates have order'd me  
 For penance and revenge to flea:  
 Unless thou presently make haste;  
 Time is, Time was: and *there it ceas'd*.  
 With which, though startled, I confess,      265  
 Yet th' horror of the thing was less  
 Than th' other dismal apprehension  
 Of interruption or prevention.  
 And therefore snatching up the rod,  
 I laid upon my back a load;      270  
 Resolv'd to spare no flesh and blood,  
 To make my word and honour good:  
 Till tir'd, and taking truce at length,  
 For new recruits of breath and strength,  
 I felt the blows, still ply'd as fast      275  
 As if th' had been by lovers plac'd,  
 In raptures of Platonic lashing,  
 And *chaste contemplative Bardasbing*:  
 When facing hastily about,  
 To stand upon my guard and scout,      280  
 I found th' infernal cunning-man,  
 And th' under-witch, his Caliban,

ψ. 278.] See it explained, Dr Bulwer's Artificial Change-ling, scene xii. p. 209.

ψ. 280. ——— *and scout*.] A sneer probably upon Sir Samuel Luke's office as a scoutmaster,

ψ. 282. *And th' under witch, his Caliban*.] See an ac-

With scourges (like the furies) arm'd,  
 That on my outward quarters storm'd.  
 In haste I snatch'd my weapon up, 285  
 And gave *their* hellish rage a stop;  
 Call'd thrice upon your name, and fell  
 Couragiously on Sidrophel;  
 Who now transform'd himself t' a bear,  
 Began to roar aloud, and tear; 290  
 When I as furiously press'd on,  
 My weapon down his throat to run,  
 Laid hold on him, but he broke loose,  
 And turn'd himself into a goose,

count of the monster Caliban, son to the witch Sycorax, under subjection to Prospero, duke of Milan, a famous magician, who thus describes him:

"Then was this island——save for the son that she did  
 "litter here, a freckled whelp, hag-born, not honoured  
 "with a human shape." Shakespeare's *Tempest*, vol. i. p. 15, &c. Spectator, No. 279.

ψ. 289. —transform'd himself t' a bear.] Alluding to the fable of Proteus's changes. *Ovidii Metamorph. lib. viii. 730, &c.*

"As thou, blue Proteus, ranger of the seas,  
 "Who now a youth confess'd, a lion now,  
 "And now a boar, with tusky head doth shew;  
 "Now like a hateful, gliding snake art seen;  
 "A bull with horned head, a stone, or spreading green:  
 "Or in a flood dost flow a watry way,  
 "Dissembling streams, or in bright fire dost play."

Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, translated by Mr Sewell, &c. 2d edit. p. 253. *Vide Virgilii Georgic. lib. iv. p. 405, &c.*

ψ. 293, 294. —but he broke loose,—And turn'd himself into a goose,] See Amarillis's account of the transforming well, J. Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess*, act ii. p. 23. act III. sc. i. p. 27. 4to edit.

ψ. 295, 296. Div'd under water, in a pond,—To hide himself from being found.] Alluding to the account of Proteus:

*Aut in aquas tenues dilapsus abibit.*

*Virgilii Georgic. lib. iv. 410.*

Div'd under water, in a pond, 295  
 To hide himself from being found.  
 In vain I sought him ; but as soon  
 As I perceiv'd him fled and gone,  
 Prepar'd, with equal haste and rage,  
 His under-forcerer t' engage. 300  
 But bravely scorning to defile  
 My sword with feeble blood and vile,  
 I judg'd it better from a quick-  
 Set hedge to cut a knotted stick,  
 With which I furiously laid on, 305  
 Till in a harsh and doleful tone  
 'Tt roar'd, *O bold, for pity, Sir :*  
*I am too great a Sufferer,*  
*Abus'd, as you have been, & a Witch,*  
*But conjur'd int' a worse Caprich :* 310  
 Who sends me out on many a jaunt,  
 Old houses in the night to haunt,  
 For opportunities t' improve  
 Design of thievery or love ;  
 With drugs convey'd in drink or meat, 315  
 All Feats of Witches counterfeit,  
 Kill Pigs and Geese with powder'd Glafs,  
 And make it for Inchantment pass ;

ψ. 301, 302. *But bravely scorning to defile—My sword with feeble blood and vile, &c.*] Thus the Boiards of Novogrod used their slaves, who had seized their towns, lands, houses, and wives in their absence; and when they met their masters in a warlike manner—they determined to set upon them with no other weapons but their horse-whips, to put them in mind of their servile condition, and to terrify them; and so marching and lashing all together with their whips, they gave the onset, which seemed so terrible in the ears of their villains, that they fled all together, like sheep before the drivers. See Dr Giles Fletcher's Account of Russia, Purchas his Pilgrims, part III. lib. iii. p. 418, 419,

With Cow-itch meazle like a leper,  
 And choak with fumes of Guiney-pepper; 320  
 Make Leachers, and their Punks, with Dewtry,  
 Commit fantastical advowtry;

Y. 319. With Cow-itch meazle like a leper.] Cowage, commonly called *Cow-itch*, is a great sort of kidney-bean, a native of the East Indies; the pod which is brought over to us is thick, covered with short hairs, which, applied to the skin, occasions a troublesome itching for a little time, and is often used to play tricks with. (Dr H.) In Dr Hook's *Micrographia*, observ. xxvi. p. 145. see a dissertation upon Cowage.

Y. 321, 322. Make Leachers, and their Punks, with Dewtry, —Commit fantastical advowtry.] *Dutroy*, *Dewtroa*, now called *Datura*, is a plant which grows in the East-Indies: its flower and seed have a peculiar intoxicating quality; for taken in a small quantity, they transport a man from the objects about him, and place before him imaginary scenes, with which his attention is wholly taken up; so that any thing may be done with him, or before him, without his regarding it then, or remembering it afterwards. Thieves are said to give it to those they have a mind to rob; and women to their husbands, in order to use them as here represented by our Poet. Some are said to be so expert in the use of the drug, that they can proportion its dose, so as to take away the senses for any certain number of hours. Dr H. (See Linschoten's *Voyages*, chap. xxxi. p. 60, 157. *Facet. Facetiar. de Hanrietate*, p. 441.) And Mr Purchas (see his *Pilgrims*, 2d part, lib. X. cap. viii. p. 1357. See likewise Linschoten's *Voyages*, chap. lxi. page 409.) observes, that if the feet of the person under these circumstances are washed with cold water, he presently recovers his senses. See a farther account of the *Datura* or *Dewtry*, Bishop Sprat's *History of the Royal Society*, 2d edit. p. 161, 162. Dale's *Pharmacologia*.

The *Nepenthe* in Homer, (*Odyssey*, book iv. ver. 301, &c.) by the description, seems to have been much like it.

" Mean time, with genial joy to warm the soul,

" Bright Helen mix'd a mirth-inspiring bowl;

" Temper'd with drugs of sovereign use, t' assuage

" The boiling bosom of tumultuous rage;

Bewitch Hermetic-men to run  
 Stark staring mad with Manicon;  
 Believe *mechanic Virtuosi*  
 Can raise 'em Mountains in Potosi;

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" To clear the cloudy front of wrinkled care,  
 " And dry the tearful sluices of despair:  
 " Charm'd with that virtuous draught, th' exalted mind  
 " All sense of woe delivers to the wind.  
 " Though on the blazing pile his parent lay,  
 " Or a lov'd brother groan'd his life away,  
 " Or darling son oppress'd by ruffian-force  
 " Fell breathless at his feet, a mangled corse;  
 " From morn to eve, impassive and serene,  
 " The man entranc'd wou'd view the deathful scene.  
 " These drugs so friendly to the joys of life,  
 " Bright Helen learn'd from Thone's imperial wife;  
 " Who sway'd the sceptre, where prolific Nile  
 " With various simples cloathes the fat'ned soil."

Mr Pope.

ψ. 323. *Bewitch Hermetic-men to run*]. \* Hermes Trismegistus, an Egyptian philosopher, and said to have lived *Anno Mundi* 2076, in the reign of Ninus, after Moses. He was a wonderful philosopher, and proved that there was but one God, the creator of all things; and was the author of several most excellent and useful inventions. But those Hermetic-men here mentioned, though the pretended sectators of this great man, are nothing else but a wild and extravagant sort of enthusiasts, who made a hodge-podge of religion and philosophy, and produce nothing but what is the object of every considering person's contempt.

ψ. 324. *Stark staring mad with Manicon*]; *Manicon*, an herb so called from its making people mad; called also *dorychnion*, a kind of night-shade. Bailey's Dictionary.

Some herb of this kind probably made some part of Mark Anthony's army run mad, in his retreat from his Parthian expedition; in which the pursuing Parthians were repulsed eighteen times. See Mr Lewis's History of the Parthian Empire, p. 160, 165. See a remarkable account of a fruit, which whosoever tastes, will die laughing. Turkish Spy, vol. viii. book iv. letter 15.

ψ. 325, 326. *Believe mechanic Virtuosi—Can raise 'em Mountains in Potosi*]. A banter upon such as have pretended to



And, fillier than the antic fools,  
 Take treasure for a heap of coals :  
 Seek out for plants with Signatures,  
 To quack of universal cures :  
 With figures ground on *Panes of Glafs*,  
 Make people on their heads to pass :

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find out the philosopher's stone, or powder for the transmutation of metals. Of which Helmont gives the following account: "I have often seen it, and with my hands handled the same, &c.—I projected a quarter of one grain wrapt up in paper upon eight ounces of argent-vive, (quick-silver), hot in a crucible, and immediately the whole hydrogery, with some little noise, ceased to flow, and remained congealed like yellow wax: after fusion thereof, by blowing the bellows, there were found eight ounces of gold, wanting eleven grains: therefore one grain of this powder transmutes 19186 equal parts of argent-vive into the best gold." See a tract entitled, *The Golden Calf*. In which is handled the most rare and incomparable Wonder of Nature, in transmuting Metals. Written in Latin, by John Frederic Helvetius, &c. London, 1670, p. 36. Public Library, Cambridge, xiv. 6, 24.

Ibid. —*Potosi*;] \* Potosi is a city of Peru, the mountains whereof afford great quantities of the finest silver in all the Indies.

Y. 327, 328. *And, fillier than the antic fools,—Take treasure for a heap of coals.*] *Antic fools* in all the editions to 1710 inclusive. "Ἀνδραγαθὸς ἢ ἀνδραγῶς πέρουεν, i. e. *Carbones thesaurus erant*. See the meaning, *Erasmii Adag. chil. I. cent. 9. prov. xxx. col. 346*. "The Governor Aratron converteth treasure into coals, and coals into treasure." *Arbatel of Magic*, aphor. 17. *Agrippa's Occult Philosophy*, 4to, 1655, p. 188.

The Poet here designs probably to sneer Martin Frobisher, and others, who in Queen Elizabeth's time were adventurers to Cathaia, and brought home ore which they took for gold, which yet proved little better than coals.

Mr Smith of Harleston is of opinion, that as Cathaia lyes near the Artic circle, *Artic fools* would be an emendation.

Y. 331, 332. *With figures ground on Panes of Glafs,—Make people on their heads to pass:*] Alluding to the *Ca-*

And mighty heaps of coin increase,  
 Reflected from a single piece :  
 To draw in fools, whose nat'ral itches 333  
 Incline perpetually to witches ;  
 And keep me in continual fears,  
 And danger of my neck and ears :  
 When less delinquents have been scourg'd,  
 And hemp on wooden anvils forg'd, 340

*mera Obscura*: for an account of which I refer the reader to Mr Chambers's *Cyclopædia*, and Dr Smith's *Complete System of Optics*, vol. II. book iii. chap. 15. 968, 973. p. 384, 386.

See a contrivance to make the picture of any thing appear on a wall, picture, or cupboard, or within a picture-frame, &c. in the midst of a light room in the day-time; or in the night, in any room that is enlightened with a considerable number of candles, devised and communicated by the ingenious Mr Hook, *Philosophical Transactions*, No. 38. August 17, 1668, vol. ii. p. 741.

Y. 333, 334. *And mighty heaps of coin increase,—Reflected from a single piece.*] Something of this kind of juggling, or flight of hand, is ascribed by Dr Heywood (see *Hierarchy of Angels*, p. 574.) to Dr Faustus, and Cornelius Agrippa.

“ Of Faustus and Agrippa it is told,  
 “ That in their travels they bare seeming gold,  
 “ Which con'd abide the touch, and by the way,  
 “ In all their hostries, they would freely pay;  
 “ But parting thence, mine host thinking to find  
 “ Those glorious pieces they had left behind  
 “ Safe in the bag, sees nothing save together  
 “ Round scutes of horn, and pieces of old leather.”

Y. 339. *When less delinquents have been scourg'd, &c.*] See Lupton's *thousand notable Things*, 2d edit. p. 366.

“ Crimes are not punish'd, 'cause they're crimes,  
 “ But 'cause they're low and little:  
 “ Mean men for mean faults in those times  
 “ Make satisfaction to a tittle.  
 “ Whilst these in office, and in power,  
 “ Boldly the underlings devour.”

The Reformation, *Collection of Loyal Old Songs*, vol. I, No. 65. p. 169.



Which others for cravats have worn  
About their necks, and took a turn.

I pity'd the sad punishment  
The *wretched Caitiff* underwent,  
And held my drubbing of his bones 345  
Too great an honour for Pultrones :  
For Knights are bound to feel no blows  
From paultry and unequal foes,  
Who when they slash, and cut to pieces,  
Do all with civillest address : 350  
Their horses never give a blow,  
But when they make a leg and bow :  
I therefore spar'd his flesh, and prest him  
About the witch with many a question.

ψ. 340. *And hemp on wooden anvils forg'd.*] Alluding to petty criminals, who are whipped, and beat hemp in Bridewell, and other houses of correction.

ψ. 347, 348. *For Knights are bound to feel no blows—From paultry and unequal foes.*] Still alluding to the rules of knight-errantry, in imitation of Don Quixote, (see vol. i. book 3. ch. i. p. 133.) who gave the following advice to his Squire Sancho Pancha: "Friend Sancho, for the future, " whenever thou perceivest us to be any ways abused by " such inferior fellows, thou art not to expect that I should " offer to draw my sword against them, for I will not do it " in the least; no, do thou then draw, and chastise them as " thou thinkest fit: but, if any knight come to take their " part, then will I be sure to step between thee and danger." See likewise part I. ch. viii. p. 68. vol. II. p. 220. vol. III. ch. xi. p. 104. And Pharamond, a romance, part III. book iv. p. 117.

ψ. 351, 352. *Their horses never give a blow,—But when they make a leg and bow.*] Mr Lewis (in his History of the Parthian Empire, 1728, p. 159.) observes, from Dion Cassius, " That in the Roman battalions, in form of a tortoise, their " horses were taught to kneel." And, in another place, p. 323, " That Trajan (in his Parthian expedition), was " presented with a horse that was taught to adore, kneeling upon his fore-feet, and to bow his head to the ground, " as Trajan stood before him."

Quoth he, For many years he drove 355  
 A kind of broking-trade in love;  
 Employ'd in all th' Intrigues and Trust,  
 Of feeble, *speculative Lust*;  
 Procurer to th' extravagancy,  
 And crazy ribaldry of fancy, 360  
 By those the devil had forsook,  
 As things below him to provoke.  
 But being a Virtuoso, able  
 To *smatter, quack, and cant, and dabble*,  
 He held his talent most Adroit, 365  
 For any *mystical Exploit*;  
 As others of his tribe had done,  
 And rais'd their prices three to one.  
 For one predicting pimp has th' odds  
 Of chauldrons of plain downright bawds. 370  
 But as an' elf (the Devil's Valet)  
 Is not so slight a thing to get;  
 For those that do his bus'ness best,  
 In hell are us'd the ruggedest;  
 Before so meriting a person 375  
 Cou'd get a grant, *but in Reversion*,  
 He serv'd two prenticeships, and longer,  
 I' th' myst'ry of a Lady-monger.  
 For (as some write) a witch's ghost,  
 As soon as from the body loos'd, 380  
 Becomes a puiney-imp itself,  
 And is another Witch's Elf.

V. 355, 356. *Quoth he, For many years he drove—A kind of broking-trade in love.*] Lilly confirms this in one or two instances, (see *Life*, 2d edit. p. 34.) where he says, "He grew weary of such employments, and burned his books which instructed these curiosities." See an account of the galley-slave condemned for a pimp, and a conjurer; with *Don Quixote's dissertation on pimps*, part i, book 3. ch. vii. p. 226.

He after searching far and near,  
 At length found one in Lancashire,  
 With whom he bargain'd before-hand, 385  
 And, after hanging, entertain'd.  
 Since which h' has play'd a thousand feats,  
 And practis'd all mechanic cheats :  
 Transform'd himself to th' ugly shapes  
 Of Wolves, and Bears, Baboons, and Apes ; 390

ψ. 384. *At length found one in Lancashire.*] The reason why Sidrophel is said to find a witch in Lancashire rather than any other county is, because it has always been a tradition, that they have abounded there more than in all the kingdom. Hence came the vulgar expression of a *Lancashire witch* : and the tradition might probably take its rise from some reputed witches, who were tried there in the reign of King James I. ; and, I think, cast for their lives ; but it was probably by judges that run in but too much with the court stream, and favoured the monarch's opinion in his daemonology, and fancied, because they had their nightly meetings, they could be nothing else but witches, though in reality, (as I have been informed by one who read the narrative of them, published in those times), they were neither better nor worse than sheep-stealers.

Mr Burton (fellow-sufferer with Mr Pryn and Dr Bawwick, as Mr Byron observes, from Pryn's *New Discovery of the Prelates' Tyranny*, p. 82.) complained, " That upon his being imprisoned in Lancashire castle, he was put into a high chamber ill-floored, so that he was in danger of falling through it ; and that, to make it more grievous to him, they put into the room under it a company of witches, who were in that prison when he came thither." See an account of the Pendle-Forest witches, who were condemned at the assizes at Lancaster, 1633, or 1634, but reprieved, and afterwards cleared from the aspersions, by the boy who was suborned to be evidence against them. Webster's *Displaying of supposed Witchcraft*, ch. xiv. p. 276, &c. and ch. xvii. p. 347, &c.

ψ. 389, 390. *Transform'd himself to th' ugly shapes—Of Wolves, and Bears, Baboons, and Apes.*] Le Blanc seems to give in to the possibility of this kind of transmutation : (See *Travels*, part ii. ch. 18.) but Wierus sneers this opi-

Which he has vary'd more than witches,  
Or Pharaoh's Wizards cou'd their Switches ;

nion; and after having exposed a fabulous instance from William of Malsbury, of pranks of this kind played by two witches at Rome, who kept an inn, and now and then metamorphosed a guest into a horse, sow, or ass, he concludes, *At hæ, et similes nugæ, eandem fortiantur fidem, quam Apuleius et Luciani metamorphosis meretur. De Prestigiis Demonum, lib. iv. cap. 10. Vide etiam Lamberti Danai, lib. de Veneficis, &c. 1574, cap. iii. p. 59, 60. Webster's Displaying of supposed Witchcraft, chap. v. p. 83. There was a story of this kind much taken notice of in those times, and bantered by Mr Cleveland. On a Miser, Works, p. 76.*

"Have you not heard th' abominable sport,

"A Lancashire grand jury will report?

"A foldier with his morglay watch'd the mill,

"The cats they came to feast, when lusty Will

"Whips off great puss's leg, which, by some charm,

"Proves the next day such an old woman's arm."

See note on Part I. Canto i. ver. 350.

See more instances, *Saxonis Grammat. Hist. Danic. lib. i. p. 10. de Harterena Præstigiatore. Stephani Stephani, not. in lib. 10. Histor. Danic. p. 43. Scott's Discovery of Witchcraft, book v. p. 89, &c. 93, 94. where the opinion is exposed. Dr Bulwer (Artificial Changeling, sc. xxiv. p. 516.) observes from Mr Scott, and other writers, "That the wonderful experiments of natural magic, which are only done in appearance, are very many. To set a horse's or ass's head upon a man's neck and shoulders, cut off the head of a horse or an ass," (before they be dead, otherwise the virtue or strength thereof will be less effectual), "and make an earthen vessel of a fit capacity to contain the same; and let it be filled with the oil and fat thereof, cover it close, and dawb it over with lome: let it boil over a soft fire three days, that the flesh boiled may run into oil, so as the bare bones may be seen; beat the hair into powder, and mingle the same with the oil, and anoint the heads of the standers-by, and they shall seem to have horses' or asses' heads. If beasts' heads be anointed with the like oil, made of a man's head, they shall seem to have mens' faces, as diverse authors soberly affirm." See Scott's Discovery of Witchcraft, book xiii. p. 315.*

And all with whom h' has had to do,  
 Turn'd to as monstrous figures too :  
 Witness myself, whom h' has abus'd, 395  
 And to this beastly shape reduc'd,  
 By feeding me on Beans and Pease,  
 He crams in nasty crevices,  
 And turns to comfits by his arts,  
 To make me relish for differts, 400  
 And one by one, with shame and fear,  
 Lick up the candy'd provender.  
 Beside——But as h' was running on,  
 To tell what other feats h' had done,  
 The lady stopt his full career, 405  
 And told him, now 'twas time to hear.  
 If half those things, said she, be true,  
 (*They're all, quoth he, I swear by you*)  
 Why then, said she, that Sidrophel  
 Has damn'd himself to th' pit of hell ; 410  
 Who, mounted on a broom, the Nag  
 And Hackney of a Lapland Hag,

ψ. 392. *Or Pharaoh's Wizards cou'd their Switches.*] See Exodus vii. 11. King James's *Daemonology*, b. i. ch. 6. Works, p. 105.

ψ. 411, 412. *Who, mounted on a broom, the Nag—And Hackney of a Lapland Hag.*] See Scheffer's account of a Lapland witch, in the town of Luhlal, who flew through the cieling of a chamber. (*History of Lapland*, 8vo, ch. xi. p. 157.) Dr Heywood seems to give in to this opinion, in the case of the maid of Bergamus, &c. (see *Hierarchy of Angels*, lib. iv. p. 257, 258.); and Mr Glanville, in the cases of Richard Jones, of Shipton Mallet, and of Elizabeth Styles. (*Sadducismus Triumphatus*, part ii. p. 124, 139.) Mr Scott (see *Discovery of Witchcraft*, book III. ch. i. p. 40.) gives the following account: "He (the devil) teacheth them to  
 "make pintments of the bowels and members of children,  
 "whereby they ride in the air, and accomplish all their  
 "desires.—After burial they steal them out of their graves,  
 "and feede them in a caldron, until their flesh be made



In quest of you came hither post,  
 Within an hour (I'm sure) at most;  
 Who told me all you swear and say, 415  
 Quite contrary another way;  
 Vow'd that you came to him, to know  
 If you shou'd carry me or no;  
 And would have hir'd him and his imps,  
 To be your match-makers and pimps, 420  
 T' engage the devil on your side,  
 And steal (like Proserpine) your bride.

"potable; of which they make ointment, by which they  
 "ride in the air." *Vide Unguent. Mallei Malleficarum,*  
*tom. i. par. 11. quest. cap. xi. p. 240.*

"Strigibus per unguentum prædictum diabolicum possi-  
 "bile est accidisse, aut accidere somnium vehementissimum,  
 "et somniare se ad loca deportatas longinqua, in catos  
 "converti, vel quaecunque alia facere, etiam vel pati,  
 "quæ postmodum se putant in veritate fecisse, vel passas  
 "esse." *Fra. Bartholi de Spina Quest. de Strigibus,*  
*tom. 4. Mallei quarundam Malleficar. p. 461.*

Wierus exposes the folly of this opinion, and proves it to  
 be diabolical illusion, and to be acted only in dreams. Old-  
 ham likewise sneers it, *Works*, 6th edit. p. 254.

"As men in sleep, though motionless they ly,

"Fledg'd by a dream, believe they mount and fly;

"So witches some enchanted wand bestride,

"And think they through the airy region ride."

See more, *Scott's Discovery of Witchcraft*, b. III. ch. iii.  
 p. 43, &c. book X. ch. viii. p. 184, &c. *Webster's Display-*  
*ing of supposed Witchcraft*, ch. v. p. 69. *Life of William*  
*Duke of Newcastle*, by his Ducheſs, p. 144. *Baker's History*  
*of the Inquisition*, p. 172.

ψ. 422. *And steal (like Proserpine) your bride.*] "Pro-  
 "serpine (says the author of the *Spectator*, No. 365.) was  
 "out a-maying, when she met with the fatal adventure;"  
 to which Milton alludes, when he mentions,

"——that fair field

"Of Enna, where Proserpine gath'ring flowers,

"Herself a fairer flower, by gloomy Dis

"Was gather'd."——



415

420

they  
rum,

possi-  
um,  
catos  
pati,  
passas  
ibus,

it to  
Old-

. iii.  
play-  
liam  
story

Pro-  
was  
e;"

But he disdain'g to embrace  
So filthy a design and base,  
You fell to vapouring and huffing, 425  
And drew upon him like a ruffian;  
Surpriz'd him meanly unprepar'd,  
Before h' had time to mount his guard;  
And left him dead upon the ground,  
With many a bruise and desperate wound : 430  
Swore you had broke and robb'd his house,  
And stole his Talismanique Louse,

ψ. 432. *And stole his Talismanique Louse.*] There is a great deal of humour in this expression. The superstition of talismans is this, that in order to free any place from vermin, or noxious animals of any kind, the figure of the animal is made of consecrated metal, in a planetary hour, (see note on Part I. Canto i. ver. 530.) and is called the *talisman*. The joke then of this thought is this, that Siodrophel had made a talismanique louse to preserve himself from that vermin. He alludes again with great humour to this superstition, Canto ii. ver. 1555, 1556:

"Each in a tatter'd talisman,  
"Like vermin in effigy slain."

Mr W.

The author of the *Turkish Spy* (vol. IV. book iv. let. 9.) mentions a story of Pancrates, a famous magician of Egypt, from Lucian, who by talismans was able to transform inanimate things into the appearance at least of living creatures. He likewise gives an account of some remarkable talismans at Paris, vol. III. book ii. p. 25.: but Gassendus (*Vanity of Judiciary Astrology*, chap. xvii, p. 116.) seems to sneer the doctrine of talismans in the following words: "I say nothing of the election of times, which they prescribe to be observed in the making seals, images, figures, gamatives, and the like representations, which they call *talismans*; because it is obvious that no distracted fancy could ever have imagined any thing more vain, more foolish." And Naudaeus, in banter of talismans, observes, (*History of Magic*, chap. 21.) "That Scaliger did justly laugh at a fly-driver, who having made a little plate, graved with figures and characters under a certain constellation, had no sooner placed it in a window to try

And all his new-found old Inventions,  
 With flat felonious intentions :  
 Which he could bring out where he had, 435  
 And what he bought them for and paid :  
 His flea, his Morpion, and Punese,  
 H' had gotten for his proper ease,  
 And all in perfect minutes made,  
 By th' ablest artist of the trade : 440  
 Which (he could prove it) since he lost,  
 He has been eaten up almost ;  
 And altogether might amount  
 To many hundreds on account :  
 For which h' had got sufficient warrant 445  
 To seize the malefactors errant,  
 Without capacity of bail,  
 But of a Cart's or Horse's Tail,  
 And did not doubt to bring the wretches  
 To serve for *Pendulums to Watches*; 450  
 Which modern virtuosos say,  
 Incline to hanging ev'ry way.  
 Beside he swore, and swore 'twas true,  
 That e'er he went in quest of you,

" the experiment, but a confident fly handselled it with its  
 " ordure." See the superstitious custom of the inhabitants  
 of Guzarat, Purchas his Pilgrims, vol. V. ch. viii. p. 542.

Ψ. 437. — [*Morpion, and Punese.*] See *Morpion* and  
*Punaise*, Mr Boyer's French Dictionary, *Tome premiere*.

Ψ. 450. *To serve for Pendulums to Watches.*] Dr Robert  
 Hooke, geometry-professor of Gresham-college, was the first  
 inventor of circular pendulum watches, just before, or im-  
 mediately after the restoration of King Charles II. (See Mr  
 Ward's *Lives of the Professors, &c.* p. 170, 171.) Mr Cham-  
 bers (*Cyclopadia*) observes, that it is between Dr Hooke, and  
 Mr Huygens, that the glory of this invention lyes; but to  
 which of them it properly belongs, is greatly disputed: the  
 English ascribing it to the former, the French, Dutch, &c.,  
 to the latter. Mr Derham, in his artificial clock-maker, says  
 roundly, that Dr Hooke was the inventor.

He set a figure to discover 455  
 If you were fled to Rye or Dover;  
 And found it clear, that, to betray  
 Yourselfs and me, you fled this way;  
 And that he was upon pursuit,  
 To take you somewhere hereabout. 460  
 He vow'd he had intelligence  
 Of all that pass'd before and since:  
 And found that ere you came to him,  
 Y<sup>e</sup> had been engaging life and limb  
 About a case of tender conscience, 465  
 Where both abounded in your own sense:  
 Till Ralpho by his light and grace  
 Had clear'd all Scruples in the case;  
 And prov'd that you might swear and own  
 Whatever's by the wicked done: 470  
 For which, most basely to requite  
 The service of his gifts and light,  
 You strove t' oblige him by main force  
 To scourge his ribs instead of yours;  
 But that he stood upon his guard, 475  
 And all your vapouring out-dar'd;  
 For which, between you both, the feat  
 Has never been perform'd as yet.

While thus the Lady talk'd, the Knight  
 Turn'd th' outside of his eyes to white, 480

*ψ. 480. Turn'd th' outside of his eyes to white.] A thing much practis'd by the fanatics of those times, and is well bantered in the Tale of a Tub, (p. 207.) under the character of Jack; namely Calvin, or the Presbyterian. He says, that "He hired a tailor to stitch up his collar so close, that it was ready to choak him; and squeezed out his eyes at "such a rate, that one could see nothing but the white." And Dr Echard, (Observations upon the Answer to the Enquiry, &c. p. 113.) That they often shewed the heavenly*

(*As men of inward light are wont  
To turn their optics in upon't.*)

He wonder'd how she came to know  
What he had done and meant to do:  
Held up his Affidavit-hand, 485  
As if h' had been to be arraign'd:

part of the eye: nay, this practice of the Puritans is bantered in a song of Ben Johnson's. See *Mask of the transform'd Gypsies*, Works, vol. I. p. 70.

"Cock-Laurel wou'd needs have the devil his guest,  
"And had him once into the Peak to dinner,  
"Where never the fiend had such a feast  
"Provided him yet at the charge of a finner.  
"His stomach was queasy; for coming there coach'd,  
"The jogging had caus'd some crudities rise;  
"To help it he call'd for a Puritan poach'd,  
"That used to turn up the eggs of his eyes."

The late ingenious Mr Fenton (*Poems*, 8vo, 1717, p. 71, 72.) has satirised those Precisians in the following lines:

"An age most odious and accurs'd ensu'd,  
"Discolour'd with a pious monarch's blood:  
"Whose fall when first the Tragic Virgin saw,  
"She fled, and left her province to the law.  
"Her merry Sister still pursu'd the game;  
"Her garb was alter'd, but her gifts the same.  
"She first reform'd the muscles of her face,  
"And learn'd the solemn screw for signs of grace;  
"Then circumcis'd her locks, and form'd her tone,  
"By humming to a tabor and a drone;  
"Her eyes she disciplin'd precisely right,  
"Both when to wink, and how to turn the white:  
"Thus banish'd from the stage, she gravely next  
"Assum'd the cloak, and quibbled o'er a text;  
"But when, by miracle of mercy shewn,  
"Much-suffering Charles regain'd his father's throne,  
"When Peace and Plenty overflow'd the land,  
"She straight pull'd off her fatten-cap and band."

General Historical Dictionary, vol. VI. p. 298.

Y. 485. *Held up his Affidavit-hand.*] The holding up the right-hand was deemed a mark of truth. "Quia vero fidei  
"propria sedes in dextera manu credebatur; ideo interdum

Cast towards the door a ghastly look,  
In dread of Sidrophel, and spoke :

Madam, if but one word be true  
Of all the wizard has told you, 490  
Or but one single circumstance  
In all th' Apocryphal Romance,  
May dreadful earthquakes swallow down  
This vessel, *that is all your own;*

" duabus junctis manibus fingeatur.—Quamobrem apud veteres manus dextera tanquam res sacra putabatur." *Charitarii Imagin. Deorum, qui ab Antiquis colebantur. Edit. Lugduni, 1581, p. 214.*

ψ. 493, 494. *May dreadful earthquakes swallow down—This vessel, that is all your own.*] This prevarication of our Knight is not quite so clean as that of Sancho-Pancho, who being bribed by Don Quixote to give himself three thousand three hundred lashes for the disenchantment of his mistress Dulcinea del Toboso, by taking the advantage of the night, he bestowed them upon a tree, in the hearing of his master, (vol. IV. chap. lxix, lxxi. p. 702, 719.) This was contrary to the laws of chivalry, as Don Quixote observes, in the case of his own penance, part i. book 3. chap. xi. p. 277.

But Don Hudibras might probably think to screen himself by the authority of Catullus, as well as some modern poets.

*Nil metuunt jurare, nihil promittere parant.*

*Sed simul ac cupida mentis satiata libido est.*

*Dicta nihil metuere, nihil perjuriam curant.*

*Catulli Carm. lxiv. 146, 147, 148.*

Caelia observes (Shakespeare's *As you Like it*, act iii. vol. II. p. 238.) "That the oath of a lover is no stronger than the word of a tapster, they are both the confirmers of false reckonings." And Mirabel (see *Wild Goose Chase*, Beaumont and Fletcher's Works, part i. p. 452.) thus speaks to Oriana:

"I have more to do with my honesty than to fool it, or venture it in such leak-barks as women; I put them off, because I loved them not—and not for thy sake, nor the contract's sake, nor vows nor oaths; I've made a thousand of them; they are things indifferent, whether kept or



Or may the heavens fall and cover 499  
*These Relics* of your constant lover.

You have provided well, quoth she,  
 (I thank you) for yourself and me;  
 And shewn your Presbyterian wits  
 Jump punctual with the Jesuits. 500

“broken; mere venial slips, that come not near the con-  
 “science, nothing concerning those tender parts, they are  
 “trifles.” The Beguins of the Franciscan order were of  
 opinion, that whatever lies a man told a woman to gain her  
 consent to his desires was not heresy, so that he believed in  
 his heart the carnal act was sin. Baker’s History of the In-  
 quisition, chap. v. p. 28.

*Fusjurandum Amatorium.*

*Julia sum pollicitus futurum  
 Me sibi fidum, calidusque amor*

*Furejurando simul obligavi*

*Me quoque scripto.*

*Hisce nec vinculis tenet obligatum  
 (Dum placent nympha, retinent amantes)*

*Ventus inscriptum folio ratumque*

*Cum folio aufert.*

The Lover’s Oath.

I.

“I promised Julia to be true,  
 “Nay, out of zeal, I swore it too,  
 “And that she might believe me more,  
 “Gave her in writing what I swore.

II.

“Nor vows, nor oaths, can lovers bind;  
 “So long as pleas’d, so long they’re kind;  
 “’Twas writ on a leaf, the wind it blew,  
 “Away both leaf and promise flew.”

The late Dean M.

Y. 499, 500. And shewn your Presbyterian wits—Jump  
 punctual with the Jesuits.] There was but too much truth  
 in this observation; for there were several Jesuits and Po-  
 pish priests got into livings in those times. See Bishop  
 Kennet’s Register and Chronicle, p. 231. p. 781.

It is the observation of Mr Long, (Ep. Ded. to his History



A most compendious way, and civil,  
 At once to cheat the World, *the Devil*,  
 And Heaven and Hell, *yourselves* and *those*  
 On whom you vainly think t' impose.  
 Why then, quoth he, may *Hell surprize*— 505  
 That trick, said she, will not pass twice :  
 I've learn'd how far I'm to believe  
 Your pinning oaths upon your sleeve :

of Popish and Fanatical Plots), " That the Jesuits and Dis-  
 senters have so long communicated politics, that it is  
 hard to determine whether there be now more Fana-  
 ticism in the Jesuits, or more Jesuitism among the Fa-  
 natics." And Mr Petyt, (see *Visions of the Reformation*,  
 p. 20.) comparing the Papists and Presbyterians, says, " You  
 will find, that though they have two faces that look dif-  
 ferent ways, yet they have both the same lineaments,  
 the same principles, and the same practices; and both  
 impudently deny it; like the two men that stole the piece  
 of flesh from the butcher in the fable; he that took it,  
 swore he had it not, and he that had it, swore he did  
 not take it. *Who took it, or who has it, I don't know*,  
 (quoth the butcher); *but by Jove you are a couple of*  
*knaves*. As in their Pharisaical disposition they symbo-  
 lize with the Jew, so in some of their positions they  
 jump pat with the Jesuit: for though they are both in  
 the extremes, and as contrary one to the other as the  
 scales of a diameter; yet their opinions and practices are  
 concentric to depress regal power; both of them *would*  
*bind their kings in chains, and the nobles in links of*  
*iron*." (The true Informer, who—discovereth—the chief  
 Causes of the sad Distempers in Great Britanny, and Ireland.  
 Oxford, 1643, p. 9.

" The Roman Catholics advance the cause,  
 " Allow a lie, and call it *pia fraud*;  
 " The Puritan approves, and does the same,  
 " Dislikes nought in it but the Latin name:  
 " He flows with his devices, and dare lie  
 " In very deed, in truth, and verity.  
 " He whines, and sighs, and lies with so much ruth,  
 " As if he griev'd 'cause he could ne'er speak truth."

Puritan and Papist. By Mr A. Cowley, p. 1.

But there's a better way of clearing  
 What you would prove, than *downright swearing*;  
 For if you have perform'd the feat, 518  
 The blows are visible as yet,  
 Enough to serve for satisfaction  
 Of nicest scruples in the action:  
 And if you can produce those knobs, 519  
 Although they're but the Witch's drubs,  
 I'll pass them all upon account,  
 As if your *natural* self had done't;  
 Provided that they pass th' opinion  
 Of able juries of old women; 520  
 Who us'd to judge all *Matter of Facts*  
 For bellies, may do so for backs.

Madam, quoth he, your *Love's a Million*:  
*To do is less than to be willing*,  
 As I am, were it in my power, 525  
 T' obey what you command, and more.  
 But for performing what you bid,  
*I thank you as much as if I did.*  
 You know I ought to have a care  
 To keep my wounds from taking air; 530  
 For wounds in those that are all heart,  
 Are dangerous in any part.

I find, quoth she, my *Goods and Chattels*  
 Are like to prove but mere *drawn Battels*;  
 For still the longer we contend, 535  
 We are but farther off the end.  
 But granting now we should agree,  
 What is it you expect from me?

ψ. 520. *Of able juries of old women.*] See ver. 884.

★. 531. *For wounds in those that are all heart, &c.*] See character of Little Hugo, Gondibert, book I. canto ii. p. 20. and Sancho's advice to Don Quixote, "Whose little heart" (he says) was no bigger than a hazel-nut." vol. iii. p. 86.

Your plighted faith, quoth he, and word  
 You past in heaven on record, 540  
 Where all contracts, to have and t' hold,  
 Are everlastingly enroll'd.  
 And if 'tis counted treason here  
 To raze Records, 'tis much more there.  
 Quoth she, There are no *Bargains driv'n*, 545  
 Nor Marriages clapp'd up in Heav'n;  
 And that's the reason, as some guess,  
 There is no heav'n in marriages;

ψ. 539, 540. *Your plighted faith, quoth he, and word—You past in heaven on record.*] The author of a book, entitled, *The Devil upon two Sticks*, (vol. I. chap. ix. p. 108. edit. 1708.), makes mention of a couple of young ladies, talking upon the subject of matrimony, after their father's death.—“He is dead at last, said the eldest, our unnatural father, who took a barbarous pleasure in preventing our marriage; he will now no more cross our designs. For my part, said the youngest, I am for a rich husband, and Don Bouřvelas shall be my man. Hold, Sister, replied the eldest, don't let us be hasty in the choice of husbands; let us marry those the Powers above have decreed for us; for our marriages are registred in Heaven's books. So much the worse, dear Sister, returned the younger; for I am afraid my father will tear out the leaf.”

ψ. 543, 544. *And if 'tis counted treason here—To raze Records, 'tis much more there.*] I cannot learn that it is treason to raze records by any law in being in Mr Butler's time: it was made felony by 8. of Richard II. and 8. Henry VI. 12. See Statute Book. *Merito capitale est incon-sulta curia delere, vel immutare. Vide Spelmanni Glossar. sub voce Recordum, Recordatio*, p. 480. That infamous Solicitor General St John, in his argument against the Earl of Strafford, says, “It is treason to embezzle judicial records.” Walker's History of Independency, part iii. p. 15. Serjeant Thorp, one of the infamous judges of the times, in his charge to the Grand Jury at York, (March 20. 1648. page 15.), in his list of felonies against the possession, says, “It is felony if any raze, embezzle, or withdraw any record of the Court.”

Two things that naturally press  
 Too narrowly to be at ease.  
 Their bus'ness there is only love,  
 Which marriage is not like t' improve :  
 Love, that's too generous t' abide  
 To be against it's nature ty'd :

530

Y. 545, 546, 547, 548. *Quoth she, There are no Bargains driv'n,—Nor Marriages clapp'd up in Heav'n;—And that's the reason, as some guess,—There is no heav'n in marriages.*] Marriage is ridiculed in an extraordinary manner in this whole speech of the Widow: she begins very wittily and satirically. The comparisons of marriage to a double horse, and of love to an ague, are finely imagined, and exceedingly well suited to the nature of this Poem, which is Burlesque in perfection. We are ready to pardon these reflections upon that happy state of life, because they proceed out of a lady's mouth. If we consider her present case, she could not avoid making such frightful representations of that state; not from any disaffection she had to it, but to deter the Knight from it; and consequently, by this method, to get quit of his addresses, which were very disagreeable to her. Mr B.

This passage alludes to our Saviour's answer to the Sadducees: *that in heaven there is no marrying, nor giving in marriage.*

To which Mr John Owen, in one of his admired epigrams, alludes. *Epigrammat. Johan. Owen—lib. ii. p. 21. Amor Conjugal, p. 200. edit. 1633.*

*Plurimus in cœlis amor est, connubia nulla :  
 Conjugia in terris plurima, nullus amor.*

There is another in English, with the same turn of thought, which is given to Dean Swift, but how justly I cannot say.

“ Cries Celia to a reverend dean;  
 “ What reason can be given,  
 “ Since marriage is a holy thing,  
 “ That there is none in heaven ?  
 “ There are no women there, he cried :  
 “ She quick returns the jest ;  
 “ Women there are, but I'm afraid,  
 “ They cannot find a priest.”

Mr C.

For where 'tis of itself inclin'd, 555  
 It breaks loose when it is confin'd;  
 And like the soul, it's harbourer,  
 Debarr'd the freedom of the air,  
 Disdains against its will to stay,  
 But struggles out, and flies away : 560  
 And therefore never can comply  
 T' endure the matrimonial tie,  
 That binds the female and the male,  
 Where th' one is but the other's bail ;  
 Like Roman gaolers, when they slept, 565  
 Chain'd to the prisoners they kept :  
 Of which the true and faithfull'st lover  
 Gives best security, to suffer.  
*Marriage is but a Beast, some say,*  
*That carries double in foul Way ;* 570  
 And therefore 'tis not to b' admir'd  
 It should so suddenly be tir'd :  
 A bargain at a venture made  
 Between two partners in a trade ;  
 (For what's inferr'd by t' have, and t' hold, 575  
 But something pass'd away, and sold ?)

*ψ. 565, 566. Like Roman gaolers, when they slept,—*  
*Chain'd to the prisoners they kept.]* The custom was for  
 the prisoner to have a chain on his right-hand, with the  
 other end chained to the left-hand of the soldier that kept  
 him: to this Lipsius alludes, *Comment. in lib. iii. Annal.*  
*Taciti, p. 60. edit. Lugduni Batavor. 1589. Custodia mi-*  
*litaris frequentissima, et in Romæ, et in provinciis; ejusque*  
*modus, ut is qui in noxa esset, catenam manui dextræ al-*  
*ligatam haberet; quæ eadem militis sinistram vinciret,*  
*custodiæ ejus præfecti. Vide Seneca lib. de Tranquillitate*  
*Animæ, cap. x. p. 348. edit. Parisiis, 1587. To this Juvenal*  
*alludes, Sat. vi. 560, 561.*

*Inde fides artis, sonuit, si dextera ferro,*

*Lavaque si longo castrorum in carcere mansit.*

*Vide plura, Lipsii not. id. ib. See Dr Whitby's note upon*  
*St Peter's being bound with two chains, Acts xii. 7.*



That as it makes but one of two,  
 Reduces all things else as low :  
 And at the best is but a mart  
 Between the one and th' other part, 580  
 That on the marriage-day is paid,  
 Or hour of death, the bet is laid ;  
 And all the rest of *better or worse*,  
 Both are but losers out of purse.  
 For when upon their ungot heirs 585  
 Th' entail themselves, and all that's theirs,  
 What blinder bargain e'er was driv'n,  
 Or wager laid at *six and seven*?  
 To pass themselves away, and turn  
 Their childrens tenants e'er they're born ? 590  
 Beg one another idiot  
 To guardians, e'er they are begot ;  
 Or ever shall, perhaps, by th' one,  
 Who's bound to vouch 'em for his own,  
 Though got b' implicit generation, 595  
 And general club of all the nation :

ψ. 575, 576. For *what's inferr'd by t' have, and t' hold, —But something pass'd away, and sold ?*] The Salisbury Missal of 1554 might have given satisfaction to the Widow's scruple in this respect, had she lived at that time: where the woman promises to have and to hold but for one day. " I N. take thee N. for my wedded husband, to have and to hold, for this day." *Missal. ad us. Eccl. Sarisburiens. Rothomagi, 1554. Ord. Sponsal. fol. 43.*

ψ. 585. 586. For *when upon their ungot heirs—Th' entail themselves, and all that's theirs.*] Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq; (see his 223d Tatler) seems to be no great friend to settlements and entails: and for a motto, has borrowed these and the four following lines out of our Poet.

ψ. 594. *Who's bound to vouch 'em for his own.*] See Belmour's remark, (Congreve's Old Bachelor, act i. scene 4.) I fear Bion's advice to Lucentio will not in all instances hold good. " Take you assurance of her, *cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum, &c.*" Taming the Shrew, act iv. vol. II. p. 341.



For which she's fortify'd no less  
 Than all the island, with four seas :  
 Exact's the tribute of her dower,  
 In ready insolence and power; 600  
 And makes him pass away, to have  
 And bold, to her, himself, her slave,  
 More wretched than an ancient Villain,  
 Condemn'd to drudgery and tilling;

Y. 595. *Though got b' implicit generation.*] Sir Roger L'Estrange (vol. ii. fab. 190. 'Of a Seaman well provided for) says, " This is such another providence as that of the  
 " good woman's great belly in London, in the revolution  
 " of forty-one, when her husband had been three years in  
 " Plymouth. 'Tis true (says she) my husband has been three  
 " years away, but I have had very comfortable letters  
 " from him."

Y. 598. *Than all the island, with four seas.*] By the Common law of England, if the husband is within the four seas, (the jurisdiction of the King of England), so that by intendment of law he may come to his wife, and his wife hath issue, no proof is to be admitted, to prove the child a bastard, unless there is an apparent impossibility that the husband should be the father of it: if the husband is but eight years old, then such issue is a bastard, though born within marriage; but if the issue is born within a day after marriage, between parties of full age, when the husband is under no apparent impossibility, the child is legitimate, and supposed to be the child of the husband. (Dr Wood's Institutes of the Laws of England, 3d edit. p. 64. See Shakespeare's Life and Death of King John, act i. vol. III. p. 171.) Owen, in his Epigrams, lib. i. epig. 38. is very severe upon persons under these unhappy circumstances.

38. *Maritus et Mæchus.*

Maritus. *Hanc ego mi uxorem duxi, tulit alter amorem:  
 Sic vos, non vobis, mellificatis apes.*

Mæchus. *Hos ego filiolos feci, tulit alter honores:  
 Sic vos, non vobis, nidificatis aves.*

Y. 603. *More wretched than an ancient Villain.*] " Villanage (says the author of the printed notes) is an ancient  
 " tenure, by which the tenants were obliged to perform  
 " the most abject and slavish services for their lords." See

While all he does upon the by, 605  
 She is not bound to justify,  
 Nor at her proper cost or charge  
 Maintain the feats he does at large.  
 Such hideous fots were *those obedient*  
 Old Vassals, to their ladies regent ; 610  
 To give the cheats, *the eldest Hand*  
 In foul play, by the laws o' th' land;  
 For which so many a *legal Cuckold*  
 Has been run down in courts, and truckled :  
 A law that most unjustly yokes 615  
 All *Johns of Stiles*, to *Joans of Nokes*,  
 Without distinction of degree,  
 Condition, age, or quality ;

an account of this tenure, Cowel's Interpreter. Selden's Notes upon Drayton's *Polyolbion*, p. 302. Somner's Treatise of Gavel-kind, p. 58, 66, 72, 73. Bishop Kennet's edition. Sir Henry Spelman's Glossary. Sheringham *de Gentis Anglorum Origine*, p. 56.

ψ. 613. *A legal Cuckold.*] One that has proved himself such upon a legal trial with the cuckold-maker, in order to recover damages. (See Sir Roger L'Estrange's merry story, of a Cuckold by the Courtesy of England, part ii. fab. 148.) "The story is well known (says Mr Ray, English Proverbs, 2d edit. p. 69.) of an old woman, who hearing a young fellow call his dog *Cuckold*, said to him, Are you not ashamed to call a dog by a Christian's name?" See John Taylor's Wit and Mirth, Works, p. 186. The story of Sir Gervase Clifton, and Sir Edmund Bacon. Earl of Strafford's Letters, vol. ii. p. 141. Ephraim Weed's letter, Spectator, No. 450.

There is a very whimsical petition (Spectator, No. 629.) of B. B. Esq; who desired the honour of knighthood, for having cuckolded Sir T. W. a notorious Roundhead.

ψ. 616. *All Johns of Stiles, to Joans of Nokes.*] Two fictitious names, only made use of by young lawyers in stating cases. These imaginary persons have been so long set at variance by the gentlemen of the long robe, that at length they grew weary of being involuntary opponents, and agreed to join in this humorous petition for relief to the Spectator.

Admits no *Power of Revocation*,  
 Nor *valuable Consideration*, 620  
 Nor *Writ of Error*, nor *Reverse*  
 Of Judgment past, for *better or worse*;  
 Will not allow the privileges  
 That beggars challenge under hedges,  
 Who, when they're griev'd, can make dead horses  
 Their spiritual judges of divorces; 626  
 While nothing else but *Rem in Re*,  
 Can set the proudest wretches free: :

*The humble Petition of John of Nokes, and John of Stiles,*  
 Sheweth,

" That your petitioners have had causes depending in  
 " Westminster-Hall above five hundred years; and that we  
 " despair of ever seeing them brought to an issue: That  
 " your petitioners have not been involved in these law-  
 " suits by any litigious temper of their own, but by the in-  
 " stigation of contentious persons: That the young lawyers,  
 " in our Inns of Court, are continually setting us together  
 " by the ears; and think they do us no hurt, because they  
 " plead for us without a fee: That many of the gentlemen  
 " of the robe have no other clients in the world besides us  
 " two: That when they have nothing else to do, they make  
 " us plaintiffs and defendants, though they were never re-  
 " tained by either of us: That they traduce, condemn, or  
 " acquit us, without any manner of regard to our reputa-  
 " tion and good names in the world. Your petitioners,  
 " therefore, humbly pray that you will put an end to the  
 " controversies which have been so long depending be-  
 " tween us; and that our enmity may not endure from ge-  
 " neration to generation; it being our resolution to live  
 " hereafter as becometh men of peaceable dispositions."  
 Spect. No. 577. See No. 563. Mr B.

" Like him that wore the dialogue of clokes,

" This shoulder John a Stiles, that John of Nokes."

Cleveland's Works, p. 43.

¶. 627, 628. *While nothing else but Rem in Re,—Can set the proudest wretches free.*] We have an instance to the contrary, in the poor Cavalier Corporal, (see Tatler, No. 164.), who being condemned to die, wrote this letter to his wife

A slavery beyond enduring,

But that 'tis of their own procuring;

630

the day before he expected to suffer, thinking it would come to hand the day after his execution.

“ Dear Wife,

“ Hoping you are in good health, as I am at this present writing: this is to let you know, that yesterday, between the hours of eleven and twelve, I was hanged, drawn and quartered. I died very penitently, and every body thought my case very hard. Remember me kindly to my poor fatherless children.

“ Yours, till death, W. B.”

“ It so happened, that this honest fellow was relieved by a party of his friends, and had the satisfaction to see all the rebels hanged, who had been his enemies. I must not omit a circumstance which exposed him to raillery his whole life after. Before the arrival of the next post, which would have set all things clear, his wife was married to a second husband, who lived in the peaceable possession of her; and the Corporal, who was a man of plain understanding, did not care to stir in the matter, as knowing that she had the news of his death, under his own hand, which she might have produced upon occasion.”

The Emperor Leo (as my very worthy and learned friend Dr Dickens, professor of Civil law in the University of Cambridge, informs me) allowed a separation in another case, viz. that of an incurable madness.

“ Per conjugium inquit, in corpus coierunt, oportet-  
“ que membrum alterum alterius morbos perpeti: et divi-  
“ num praeceptum est, quos Deus junxerit, ne separentur.  
“ Praeclara quidem haec et divina, utpote quae a Deo pro-  
“ nunciata sint: verum non recte, neque secundum divinum  
“ propositum hic in medium adferuntur: si enim matrimo-  
“ nium talem statum conservaret, qualem ejus in principio  
“ pronuba exhibuisset; quisquis separaret, improbus profecto  
“ esset, neque reprehensionem effugeret. Jam vero cum  
“ prae furore ne vocem quidem humanam a muliere audias,  
“ ne dum aliud quidquam eorum, quae ad oblectamentum  
“ et hilaritatem matrimonium largitur, ab illa obtineat:  
“ quis adeo acerbum horrendumque matrimonium dirimere  
“ nolit? Ea propter sancimus, &c. Ut si quando post initum  
“ matrimonium, mulier in furorem incidat, ad tres annos  
“ infortunium maritus ferat, coelestiamque tolleret: et

As spiders never seek the fly,  
 But leave him of himself t' apply;  
 So men are by themselves employ'd,  
 To quit the freedom they enjoy'd,  
 And run their necks into a noose,  
 They'd break 'em after to break loose.  
 As some, whom *Death would not depart*,  
 Have done the feat themselves by art:

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"nisi inter ea temporis ab isto malo illa liberetur, neque  
 "ad mentem redeat; tunc matrimonium divellatur, mari-  
 "tusque ab intolerabili illa calamitate exoneretur." *Imp.*  
*Leonis Novella CXI.*

"Per Novellam sequentem: si maritus per matrimonii  
 "tempus in furorem incidat intra quinquennium, matri-  
 "monium solvi nequeat: eo autem elapso, si furor eum  
 "adhuc occupet, solvi possit."

Y. 631, 632. *As spiders never seek the fly,—But leave  
 him of himself t' apply.*] This is a mistake, if what Mou-  
 set says be true. (*Insector. Theatr.* p. 72.) "Araneorum  
 "quaedam generam muscas venantur, iis denique vescun-  
 "tur:" Which is confirmed by Dr Lister, *Hist. de Ara-*  
*neis in Genere, lib. i. cap. 5. Hist. Animal Angliæ, p. 11.*  
*De Araneis Oculoculis, part ii. tit. 21. p. 70.* "Huic Ara-  
 "neo dum in reticuli vestibulo praedae capiendae invigila-  
 "bat; majusculam muscam conjeci, quam celeriter quidem  
 "arripuit, atque unico morsu quantum notare potui, oc-  
 "cidit." —

"Inter caeteras muscas omnigeni culices maxime ei ar-  
 "rident: ejus autem venationis modum elegantissimis, ve-  
 "rissimisque verbis enarravit Cl. Evelynius noster, apud  
 "doctissimum Hookium," *Micrographia, observat. 48. id.*  
*ib. tit. xxxi. p. 88.* See an account of darting-spiders catch-  
 ing gnats, *Philosophical Transactions, vol. III. Num. 50.*  
*p. 1015.*

Y. 633. —*employ'd.*] *Betray'd* in all editions: but, *Qu.*  
 whether *Employ'd* is not a better reading?

Y. 637. —*whom Death would not depart.*] Alluding to  
 the several reviews of the Common-Prayer before the last;  
 where it stands, *Till death us depart*; and altered,  
*Till death us do part.*



Like Indian Widows, gone to bed

*In flaming Curtains to the dead ;*

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V. 639, 640. *Like Indian Widows, gone to bed*—In flaming Curtains to the dead.] The women in England who murder their husbands, as guilty of petty treason, are burnt. Jacob's Law Dictionary. The Indian custom is mentioned by several travellers, see Purchas his Pilgrims, part ii. p. 1724, 1749, 1750. *Gemelli Careri*. Churchill's Collections, vol: iv. p. 216. Thevenot's Travels, part 3. ch. xlix. p. 85. My friend, the Rev. Mr W. Smith of Bedford, informs me that he was assured by Dr Paten, a person of veracity, who had enquired thoroughly into this affair, in the East-Indies, of two or three English merchants, who had been up so far in the country as to be spectators, that the cruel scene was as follows: There was a large pile of wood got ready, and kindled as soon as the corpse was laid thereon; the widow was worked up by spirituous liquors, as well as by the enthusiastic speeches of the brachmans, till she was mad enough to do any thing: however, if she refused to throw herself in voluntarily, they then made her dead drunk, and threw her in contrary to her natural inclinations. (See Mr Marshall's Letter to Dr Coga, &c. *Miscellanea Curiosa*, vol. iii. p. 263, 2d edit. See the rise of this custom in the East-Indies. Mr G. Sandys's Notes upon the Tenth Book of Ovid's Metamorphoses, p. 193.) This was anciently practised in some places, according to Diodorus Siculus; (*Biblioth. lib. xvii. p. 419. edit. Basil. 1548.*) who makes mention of a people conquered by Alexander the Great, where the wife was burnt with her dead husband, and gives the following reason for it: *Transiit ad Catharos, quæ gens lege illud scitum habet, et observat; uti uxor cum marito mortuo incendatur: idque ob semina cujusdam veneficium cum marito patratum, a barbaris institutum ferunt.* See the same account, Sir John Mandeville's Voyage, &c. edit. 1727, chap. xv. p. 206, 207. And a remarkable story (Acosta's History of the Indies, lib. v. chap. vii. p. 346.) of a Portuguese with one eye, whom the Barbarians would have sacrificed to accompany a nobleman that was dead; who said to them, That those in the other world would make small account of the dead, if they gave him a blind man for his companion; and that they had better give him an attendant with both his eyes. The reason being found good by the Barbarians, they let him go.



And men as oft have dangled for't,  
 And yet will never leave the sport.  
 Nor do the ladies want excuse  
 For all the stratagems they use,  
 To gain th' advantage of the set, 645  
 And lurch the amorous rook and cheat.  
 For as the Pythagorean soul  
 Runs through all beasts, and fish, and fowl,  
 And has a smack of ev'ry one;  
 So love does, and has ever done. 650  
 And therefore, though 'tis ne'er so fond,  
 Takes strangely to the vagabond.  
 'Tis but an ague that's reverst,  
 Whose hot fit takes the patient first,  
 That after burns with cold as much 655  
 As ir'n in Greenland does the touch;

ψ. 647. *For as the Pythagorean soul.*] Cornelius Agrippa (*De Anima, Par. Poster. Op. cap. lii. p. 114.*) has put together the several opinions of the ancient Heathen poets and philosophers upon this subject. *Vide etiam Pancirolli Rer. Memorab. par. I. tit. xlvii. p. 221.* See Fum Hoam's *Transmigrations, Chinese Tales, vol. I, II.*

Mr Bullstrode has wrote an Essay on Transmigration, in defence of Pythagoras; an abstract of which is published by Mr Stackhouse, in the Appendix to his translation of *Chinese Tales, 2d edit. 1740, p. 236.* And Mr Addison has merrily exposed this opinion, in Pug's letter to his mistress, *Spectator, No. 343.*

ψ. 656. *As ir'n in Greenland does the touch.*] Those persons who have been so unfortunate as to winter in Greenland, and survived it, tell us, that the cold is so extreme, that if they touch a piece of iron, it will stick to their fingers, and even bring off the skin: some sailors left there in King Charles the II<sup>d</sup>'s time confirm the truth of this, as may be seen at large in Harris's *Collection of Voyages.* See Moll's *Geography, part ii. p. 28. edit. 1701.* Lediard's *Naval History, vol. i. p. 121, 122.*

Iron and other metals burn upon the touch in Russia, (see Dr Giles Hetcher's *Account of Russia.* Purchas his *Pilgrimage,*

Melts in the furnace of desire,  
 Like glass, that's but the ice of fire;  
 And when his heat of fancy's over,  
 Becomes as hard and frail a lover. 660  
 For when he's with love-powder laden,  
 And prim'd and cock'd by Miss, or Madam,  
 The smallest sparkle of an eye  
 Gives fire to his artillery;  
 And off the loud oaths go, but while 665  
 They're in the very act, recoil.  
 Hence 'tis, so few dare take their chance  
 Without a separate maintenance:  
 And widows, who have try'd one lover,  
 Trust none again, 'till th' have made over: 670  
 Or if they do, before they marry,  
 The foxes weigh the geese they carry;  
 And e'er they venture o'er a stream,  
 Know how to fize themselves and them.  
 Whence witty'st ladies always choose 675  
 To undertake the heaviest goose.  
 For now the world is grown so wary,  
 That few of either sex dare marry,  
 But rather trust on tick, t' amours,  
 The Cross and Pile for Better or Worse: 680

part III. lib. iii. p. 415.) as appears from the story of a liquorish servant, who taking a pewter dish of some sweet sauce from his master's table, into the next room, licked it, and paid the skin of his tongue for that sweet sauce.

And Mr Purchas observes elsewhere, (part IV. lib. vi. p. 1205.) that Robert Harris going to blow his nose with his fingers in the Streights of Magellan, happened to cast it into the fire.

ψ. 672. *The foxes weigh the geese they carry.*] This story is mentioned by Sir K. Digby, Treatise of Bodies, ch. 36. f. xxxviii. p. 388. 1645, to which I refer the reader, and his reflections upon it.

A mode that is held honourable,  
 As well as French, and fashionable.  
 For when it falls out for the best,  
 Where both are incommoded least,  
 In soul and body two unite, 685  
 To make up one Hermaphrodite :  
 Still amorous, and fond, and billing,  
 Like Philip and Mary on a Shilling.  
 Th' have more punctilios and caprices  
 Between the petticoat and breeches, 690  
 More petulant extravagances,  
 Than poets make 'em in romances.  
 Though when their heroes 'spouse the dames,  
 We hear no more of charms and flames :

ψ. 686. *To make up one Hermaphrodite* :.] See an account of hermaphrodite, and the original of the name. *Diodor. Sicul. Rer. Antiquar. lib. v. cap. i.* Spanish Mandeville, 1600, f. 7. Stowe's Annals, by Howes, p. 187. Heywood's Hierarchy of Angels, b. vii. p. 477. Mr G. Sandys's Notes upon the Fourth Book of Ovid's Metamorphoses, p. 94. edit. 1640. Bulwer's Artificial Changeling, sc. xxi. p. 389, 390. Cleveland's Works, Upon an Hermaphrodite, edition 1677, p. 25. An exact narrative of an hermaphrodite, Philosophical Transactions, No. xxxii. p. 624. vol. XVI. No. clxxxvi. p. 282. And Mr Cheselden's Account of a Native of Angola, in Afric, shewn in London, 1740. Anatomy, 5th and 6th editions, p. 314.

ψ. 687, 688. *Still amorous, and fond, and billing,  
 Like Philip and Mary on a Shilling.*]

" Thus did Nature's vintage vary,  
 " Coining thee a Philip and Mary."

Cleveland upon an Hermaphrodite, p. 27.

In Philip and Mary's shillings, (one of which I have by me, coined in the year 1555.) the faces are placed opposite to each other, and pretty close.

ψ. 693, 694. *Though when their heroes 'spouse the dames,  
 —We hear no more of charms and flames.*] Mr Ray (in his English Proverbs, p. 63.) produces some coarse proverbial sayings upon this subject. " When a couple (says he) are

For then their late attracts decline, 695  
 And turn as eager as *prick'd Wine*;  
 And all their catterwauling tricks,  
 In earnest to as jealous piques :  
 Which th' ancients wisely signify'd,  
 By th' yellow mantos of the bride : 700  
 For jealousy is but a kind  
 Of Clap and Grincam of the mind,  
 The natural effects of love,  
 As other flames and aches prove :  
 But all the mischief is, the doubt. 705  
 On whose account they first broke out.  
 For though Chineses go to bed,  
 And ly in, in their ladies' stead,

" newly married, the first month is honey-moon, or smick-  
 " smack; the second is hither and thither; the third is  
 " thwick-thwack; the fourth the devil take them that  
 " brought thee and I together."

Nay, the author of the Tatler observes, (No. 150.) That  
 he had known a fond couple quarrel in the very honey-  
 moon.

ψ. 699, 700. *Which th' Ancients wisely signify'd,—By  
 th' yellow mantos of the bride.*] Juvenal thus describes  
 Messalina, when she was going to be married to Silius, al-  
 luding to the colour of her mantle. Sat. 2. 333, 334.

——*Dudum sedet illa parata*

*Flammeolo*——

" Adorn'd in bridal pomp, she sits in state."

Mr Dryden.

*Lutei video honorem antiquissimum in nuptialibus Flam-  
 meis totum in fœminis concessum. Plinii Nat. Hist. lib.  
 xxi. cap. 8. Vide plura, Erasmi Opera, vol. i. p. 1139.  
 vol. v. p. 598. Guidonis Pancirol. Rer. Memorab. part i.  
 tit. 59. De Nuptiis, p. 319. Chartarii Imagin. Deor. qui  
 ab Antiquis colebantur, p. 136. Notes upon Lucretius, 1714.  
 vol. i. p. 304, 305.*

ψ. 702. —Grincam.] Altered to Crincum 1710.

ψ. 707, 708. *For though Chineses go to bed,—And ly in,  
 in their ladies' stead.*] \* The Chinese men of quality,

And for the pains they took before,  
 Are nurs'd and pamp'rd to do more : 710  
 Our Green-men do it worse, when th' hap  
 To fall in labour of a clap ;  
 Both lay the child to one another ;  
 But who's the Father, who the Mother,  
 'Tis hard to say in multitudes, 715  
 Or who imported the French goods.  
 But health and sickness b'ing all one,  
 Which both engag'd before to own,  
 And are not with their bodies bound  
 To *worship*, only when they're found, 720  
 Both give and take their equal shares  
 Of all they suffer by false wares :  
 A fate no lover can divert  
 With all his caution, wit, and art.  
 For 'tis in vain to think to guess 725  
 At women by Appearances ;

when their wives are brought to bed, are nursed and tended with as much care as women here, and are supplied with the best strengthening and nourishing diet, in order to qualify them for future services. This is the custom of the Brasilians, if we may believe Maffeus, (see Purchas his Pilgrims, vol. V. book 9. chap. iv. p. 906.) who observes, that " Women in travail are delivered without great difficulty, " and presently go about their household business: the " husband in her stead keepeth his bed, is visited by his " neighbours; hath his broths made him, and junkets sent " to comfort him." See Baron Pollnitz's Memoirs, vol. II. p. 396.

ψ. 719, 720. *And are not with their bodies bound—To worship.*] Alluding to the words to be spoke by the man in the office of matrimony: " With my body I thee worship," *i. e.* With my body I thee honour; for so the word *worship* signifies in this place, *Vide Buceri Script. Anglic.* p. 443. *Seldeni Uxor. Ebraic. lib. ii. cap. 27.* Mr Wheatley's Rational Illustration, fol. edit. p. 410.

ψ. 725, 726. *For 'tis in vain to think to guess—At wo-*

That paint and patch their Imperfections  
 Of intellectual Completions,  
 And daub their tempers o'er with Washes  
 As artificial as their faces; 730  
 Wear under vizard-masks their Talents  
 And Mother-wits, before their gallants;  
 Until they're hamper'd in the noose,  
 Too fast to dream of breaking loose :  
 When all the flaws they strove to hide 735  
 Are made unready, with the bride,  
 That with her wedding-cloaths undresses  
 Her complaisance and gentilefles :  
 Tries all her arts, to take upon her  
 The government, from th' easy owner : 740  
 Until the wretch is glad to wave  
 His lawful right, and turn her slave ;  
 Find all his Having and his Holding,  
 Reduc'd t' eternal Noise and Scolding;

*men by Appearances.*] Do we think the Widow speaks her own sentiments, or is sincere in her satire? If she is, I am afraid she will ly under a heavy censure from the ladies, for inveighing so freely against her own sex, and revealing their secrets: but after all, what have the ladies to fear from this female satirist? nothing; for as long as love continues to be (as it has hitherto) a blind, universal, and irresistible passion, they need not fear any diminution of their conquests from such satirical raileries. Mr B.

Y. 730. *As artificial as their faces.*] See Spect. No. 41.

Y. 735. *When all the flaws they strove to hide, &c.*] See Devil upon two Sticks, vol. i. p. 32. 6th edit. Dean Swift's description of Corinna, Miscellanies, vol. v. p. 28. And the story of the young Florentine, Lupton's Thousand notable Things, book 11. sect. xxxix. p. 328. Lady's Travels into Spain, part II. letter vii. p. 120. 5th edit.

Y. 743, 744. *Find all his Having and his Holding, — Reduc'd t' eternal Noise and Scolding;*] Vide Juvenal, Satire vi. 283, &c. Chaucer's Prologue to the Merchant's Tale, and the Tale itself, fol. 21. edit. 1603. Machiavel's



The conjugal Petard, that tears 745  
 Down all Portcullices of ears,  
 And makes the volley of one tongue  
 For all their leathern shields too strong;

Marriage of Belphegor. L'Estrange's Fable of a Woman and Thrushes, vol. i. fab. 428. Old Cheefe, Dr King's Miscellanies. Poggius's Fable of a Tailor and his Wife. L'Estrange's Fables, part i. fab. 354. fab. 423. Of a Bladder with Beans in it.

At Pekin in China, there are houses, or hospitals for the dumb, supported by the fines imposed upon regraters, and folding women. (Purchas his Pilgrims, part 3. lib. ii. p. 276.) See the method of curing scolds at Newcastle, and Walsal in Staffordshire, by an iron collar about the neck, and a plate of iron put in the mouth, to keep the tongue down, Dr Plot's Natural History of Staffordshire, chap. 9. sect. xcvi. p. 389.

Y. 745, 746. *The conjugal Petard, that tears—Down all Portcullices of ears.*] *Petard*, an hollow engine made of metal, in the form of a high-crowned hat, charged with fine powder, and fixed to a thick plank called the *madrier*, in order to break down gates, portcullices, &c. Bailey's Dictionary.

*Portcullis*, a falling gate, or door like a harrow, hung over the gates of fortified places, let down to keep an enemy out of a city. Bailey.

Petruchio, in the Taming of a Shrew, (Shakespeare's Works, vol. ii. p. 291.) seems to question the truth of this assertion:

- " Think you (says he) a little din can daunt my ears?  
 " Have I not in my time heard lions roar?  
 " Have I not heard the sea, puff'd up with winds,  
 " Rage like an angry boar chaf'd with sweat?  
 " Have I not heard great ordnance in the field?  
 " And Heaven's artillery thunder in the skies?  
 " Have I not in a pitched battle heard  
 " Loud larums, neighing steeds, and trumpets clangue?  
 " And do you tell me of a woman's tongue,  
 " That gives not half so great a blow to hear,  
 " As will a chesnut in a farmer's fire?  
 " Tush, tush, fear boys with bugs!"

When only arm'd with noise and nails,  
 The female silk-worms ride the males, 750  
 Transform 'em into Rams and Goats,  
 Like Syrens with their charming notes;  
 Sweet as a Screech-owl's Serenade,  
 Or those enchanting murmurs made  
 By th' husband Mandrake and the wife, 755  
 Both bury'd (like themselves) alive.

ψ. 750. *The female silk-worms ride the males,*] See Virginia's Discovery of Silk-worms, by Edward Williams, 1650, p. 26.

ψ. 751, 752. *Transform 'em into Rams and Goats,—Like Syrens with their charming notes;*] \* The Syrens, according to the poets, were three sea-monsters, half women and half fish; their names were Parthenope, Ligea, and Leucosia. Their usual residence was about the island of Sicily, where, by the charming melody of their voices, they used to detain those that heard them, and then transformed them into some sort of brute animals.

*Monstra maris Syrenes erant; quæ voce canoræ  
 Quam libet admissas detinuere rates.*

*Ovid de Arte Amandi, lib. iii. 311, 312. Vide Not. varior. Naucleri Chronograph. vol. ii. Gener. xx. p. 625. Purchas's Pilgrims, part IV. lib. vi. p. 1240. lib. x. p. 1887. Webster's Displaying of supposed Witchcraft, chap. xv. p. 285, 286, 287.*

ψ. 753. *Sweet as a Screech-owl's Serenade,*] See Byshe's Art of Poetry, 7th edition, vol. ii. p. 96. from Mr Dryden's Virgil.

ψ. 754, 755. *Or those enchanting murmurs made—By th' husband Mandrake and the wife.*] \* Naturalists report, that if a male and female mandrake ly near each other, there will often be heard a sort of murmuring noise.

*Vide Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. xxv. cap. 13. Levini Lemnii Herbar. Biblior. Explic. cap. ii. p. 14, &c. Michael Drayton's England's Heroical Epistles, p. 95. Gondibert, by Sir William Davenant, 2d book, can. iv. sect. 48. p. 161. b. 3. can. vi. sect. 61. p. 340. New Memoirs of Milton's Life, by Mr Peck, p. 248. Sir Thomas Browne has confuted this vulgar notion, Vulgar Errors, b. ii. ch. 6.*

Quoth he, These reasons are but strains,  
Of wanton over-heated brains,  
Which ralliers, in their *Wit or Drink*,  
Do rather wheedle with than think.  
Man was not man in Paradise,  
Until he was created twice,

760

It is reported, that the mandrake grows commonly under the gallows. To this Glareanus Vadianus alludes, in his Panegyric upon Tom Coriat and his Cruelties.

"A mandrake grown under some heavy tree \*,

"There, where St Nicholas Knights, not long before,

"Had dropp'd their fat axungia to the lee."

Y. 757. *Quoth he, These reasons are but strains, &c.*] The Knight seems here to have too much courage and good sense to be baffled by the artful widow; for he defends matrimony with more wit, and a greater justice, than she had discovered in the ridiculing of it. This must certainly yield a sublime satisfaction to the married readers; though it must be confessed, that in her reply to this defence, she hits upon a topic which very sensibly affected our Knight, and in him all those unhappy wretches whose pretended love is actuated by riches and possessions. Mr B.

Y. 761, 762. *Man was not man in Paradise,—Until he was created twice.*] Du Bartas speaks something like this, Divine Weeks, p. 225.

"You that have seen within this ample table,

"Among so many models admirable,

"The admir'd beauties of the king of creatures,

"Come, come, and see the woman's rapturing features,

"Without whom here man were but half a man,

"But a wild wolf, but a barbarian.—

"God, therefore, not to seem less liberal,

"To man than else to every animal,

"For perfect pattern of a holy love,

"To Adam's half another half he gave;

"Ta'en from his side, to bind through ev'ry age,

"With kinder bonds, the sacred marriage."

See a tract entitled *Female Pre-eminence, &c.* by Henry Cornelius Agrippa; translated by Henry Carre, p. 6. Public Library, Cambridge, xiv. 6, 24.

\* *Gallows near Exeter.*

And had his better half, his Bride,  
 Carv'd from th' original his side,  
 T' amend his natural defects,  
 And perfect his recruited sex ;  
 Inlarge his breed at once, and lessen  
*The pains and labour of increasing,*  
 By changing them for other cares,  
 As by his dry'd-up Paps appears.  
 His body, that stupendous frame,  
 Of all the world the Anagram,

765

770

Y. 764. *Carv'd from th' original his side.*]

" Adam, till his rib was lost,  
 " Had the sexes thus ingross,  
 " When Providence our fire did cleave,  
 " And out of Adam carved Eve;  
 " Then did man 'bout wedlock treat,  
 " To make his body up complete."

Cleveland's Works, p. 25.

" Extraxit Deus unam costam de latere ejus, et ex illa  
 " formavit mulierem, quam Evam nominavit. Et non for-  
 " mavit eam de capite, ne viro dominaretur: nec de pede,  
 " ne a viro contemneretur: sed de latere formavit eam, ut  
 " amoris mutui vinculo jungerentur." *Gobelini Personae*  
*Cosmod. Romii, Act. 1. Meib. Rer. Germ. tom. i. p. 73.*

Plato recites a fable (*Qu. Conviv. p. 322. edit. Lugdun.*  
*1590.*) how man at first was created double, and for his ar-  
 rogance dissected into male and female. (See Sandys's Notes  
 upon Ovid's Metamorph. book iv. p. 79. edit. 1640.) In the  
 Romish Missal. (*Vide Ord. Sponsal. ad Usus Eccles. Sa-*  
*risburiens. 1554. fol. 42.*) The Papists seem to think, that  
 woman was taken from the left side; and therefore man is  
 to take the right-hand, while the marriage ceremony is per-  
 forming.

" Vir autem stet a dextris mulieris; mulier autem a si-  
 " nistris viri; causa est, quia formata est ex costa sinistri  
 " lateris Adame."

Some have imagined, that man has one rib less than wo-  
 man; which is ridiculed by Sir Tho. Browne, *Vulgar Errors*,  
 book vii. chap. 2.

Y. 771. *His body, that stupendous frame, &c.*] See Cleve-  
 land's poem upon a Hermaphrodite, edit. 1677. p. 26.

Is of two equal parts compact,  
 In shape and symmetry exact,  
 Of which the left and female side 775  
 Is to the manly right a bride ;  
 Both join'd together with such art,  
 That nothing else but death can part.  
 Those heav'nly attracts of yours, your eyes,  
 And face, that all the world surprize, 780  
 That dazzle all that look upon ye,  
 And scorch all other ladies tawny ;  
 Those ravishing and charming graces,  
 Are all made up of two *half faces*,  
 That in a *mathematic Line*, 785  
 Like those in other heavens join ;  
 Of which, if either grew alone,  
 'Twould fright as much to look upon ;  
 And so would that *sweet Bud* your Lip,  
 Without the other's fellowship. 790  
 Our noblest senses act by pairs,  
 Two eyes to see, to hear two ears ;  
 Th' intelligencers of the mind,  
 To wait upon the soul design'd :  
 But those that serve the body alone, 795  
 Are single, and confin'd to one.  
 The world is but two parts that meet,  
 And close at th' equinoctial sit ;  
 And so are all the works of Nature  
 Stamp'd with her Signature on matter : 800  
 Which all her creatures to a leaf,  
 Or smallest blade of grass receive.

ψ. 772. ——— *Anagram.*] See Bailey's Dictionary.

ψ. 797. *The world is but two parts, &c.*] \* The equinoctial divides the globe into North and South.



All which sufficiently declare  
 How *entirely* marriage is her care,  
 The only method that she uses 805  
 In all the wonders she produces.  
 And those that take their rules from her,  
 Can never be deceiv'd nor err.  
 For what secures the *civil Life*,  
 But pawns of Children and a Wife? 810  
 That ly, like Hostages, at stake,  
 To pay for all men undertake;  
 To whom it is as necessary,  
 As to be born and breathe, to marry;  
 So universal, all mankind 815  
 In nothing else is of one mind.  
 For in what stupid age or nation,  
 Was ever marriage out of fashion?  
 Unless among the Amazons,  
 Or cloister'd Friars, and vestal Nuns; 820  
 Or Stoics, who to bar the freaks  
 And loose excesses of the sex,

y. 819. *Unless among the Amazons, &c.*] \* The Amazons were women of Scythia, of heroic and great achievements: they suffered no man to live amongst them; but once every year used to have conversation with men of the neighbouring countries, by which if they had a male child, they presently either killed or crippled it; but if a female, they brought it up to the use of arms, and burnt off one breast, leaving the other to suckle girls. See an account of the Amazons, *Diodor. Sicul. Rer. Antiquar. lib. iii. cap. 11. Justin Hist. lib. ii. cap. 4. Chronicor. Reginonis, &c. lib. 2. Pistorii Hist. Script. Germanicor. vol. i. p. 65. Naucleri Chronograph. vol. i. Generat. 16. Sheringham de Gentis Anglorum Origine, p. 377, 379, 380. Sir John Maundeville's Voyage, &c. page 186. Sandys's Notes upon Ovid's Metamorph. book 9.*

y. 821, 822, 823, 824. *Or Stoics, who, to bar the freaks—And loose excesses of the sex,—Prepost'rously would have all women—Turn'd up to all the world in common.*] Of



Prepost'rously wou'd have all women  
 Turn'd up to all the world in common.  
 Though men would find such mortal feuds 825  
 In sharing of their public goods,  
 'Twou'd put them to more charge of lives,  
 Than they're supply'd with now by wives ;  
 Until they graze and wear their cloaths,  
 As beasts do of their *native Growths* : 830  
 For simple wearing of their horns,  
 Will not suffice to serve their turns.  
 For what can we pretend t' inherit,  
 Unless the marriage-deed will bear it ?  
 Could claim no right to lands or rents, 835  
 But for our parents' settlements ;  
 Had been but younger *Sons o' th' Earth*,  
 Debarr'd it all, but for our birth.  
 What honours or estates of peers  
 Cou'd be preserv'd but by their heirs, 840

this opinion was Plato, in his Politics ; for which Primeau-  
 day animadverts upon him. (French Academy, 1602. p. 462.)  
 Diodorus Siculus makes mention of certain Islanders, who put  
 this opinion in practice. (*Rer. Antiquar. lib. iii. cap. 13.*)  
*Mulieres minime nubunt, sed omnibus sunt communes.—*  
*Et talem morem apud Calecutios adhuc esse, scribit Mun-*  
*ster, (Cosmograph. lib. 5.) Sic et apud Tyrrenos communia*  
*conjugia fuere, referente Theopompo, &c. Et quorum li-*  
*beri ex communi fisco nutriebantur.— (Facet. Facetiar.*  
*—Fascicul. Nov. de Hanrietate xi. p. 433, 434.)* This was  
 the custom among the ancient Britons, (*Cæsar's Comment.*  
*de Bello Gallico, lib. v. 14, 4.) Uxores habent deni, duo-*  
*denique inter se communes.—Sed si qui sunt ex his nati,*  
*eorum habentur liberi, a quibus primum virgines quæque*  
*ductæ sunt.*

See Purchas's description of *Iambuli Insula*, vol. 1st, lib. I.  
 ch. viii. p. 80. and at Cochin, where wives are in common.  
 Le Blanc's Travels, part i. p. 62.

Y. 831, 832. *For simple wearing of their horns,—Will*  
*not suffice to serve their turns.]* See Sir Francis Bacon's  
 Apophthegms, No. 81. *Resuscitatio*, 3d edit. p. 235.

And what security maintains,  
 Their right and title but the Banes ?  
 What crowns could be hereditary,  
 If greatest Monarchs did not marry ?  
 And with their consorts consummate 845  
 Their weightiest *Interests of State* ?  
 For all th' *Amours* of princes are  
 But Guarantees of peace or war.  
 Or what but marriage has a charm,  
 The *Rage of Empires* to disarm ? 850  
 Make blood and desolation cease,  
 And fire and sword unite in peace,  
 When all their fierce contests for forage  
 Conclude in articles of Marriage ?  
 Nor does the genial bed provide 855  
 Less for the int'rests of the Bride :  
 Who else had not the least pretence  
 T' as much as *due Benevolence* ;  
 Could no more title take upon her  
 To Virtue, Quality, and Honour, 860  
 Than Ladies Errant, unconfin'd,  
 And *Femme-Coverts* t' all mankind.  
 All women would be of one piece,  
 The virtuous Matron, and the Miss,  
 The Nymphs of chaste Diana's train, 865  
 The same with those in Lewkner's lane,

ψ. 842. — *Banes.*] See *Banns*, Godolphin's *Repertorium Canonicum*, chap. xxxiii. p. 465.

ψ. 848. — *Guarantees.*] See Bailey, and other Etymological Dictionaries.

ψ. 865. *The Nymphs of chaste Diana's, &c.*] \* Diana's nymphs all of them vowed perpetual virginity, and were much celebrated for the exact observation of their vow.

ψ. 866. — *Lewkner's lane*] \* Some years ago swarmed with notoriously lascivious and profligate strumpets.

But for the difference marriage makes  
 'Twixt wives, and *Ladies of the Lakes* :  
 Besides, the joys of *Place and Birth*,  
 The sex's *Paradise on Earth*;  
 A privilege so sacred held,  
 That none will to their mothers yield ;  
 But rather than not go before,  
 Abandon heaven at the door.  
 And if th' indulgent law allows  
 A greater freedom to the spouse ;  
 The reason is, because the wife  
 Runs greater hazards of her life ;

870

875

ψ. 868. '*Twixt wives, and Ladies of the Lakes* :] Meaning the stews, and alluding to the old romance of Sir Laun- celot, and the Lady of the Lake. Mr W.

ψ. 869, 870. *Besides, the joys of Place and Birth,—The sex's Paradise on Earth.*] The passion for precedency, among the ladies, is too violent and visible to be disputed. Mr Pope has satirised it in his *Rape of the Lock*.

" First Ariel perch'd upon a Matadore,

" Then each according to the rank they bore :

" For Sylphs, yet mindful of their ancient race,

" Are, as when women, wondrous fond of place."

Mr B.

Timothy Treatall was indicted in the Tatler's Court of Honour (see No. 262,) by several ladies of his sister's acquaintance, for a very rude affront offered them at an entertainment, to which he had invited them; when he, the said Mr Treatall, upon serving up the supper, desired the ladies to take place, according to their different age and seniority: for that it was the way at his table to pay respect to years. This indictment sets forth, That this behaviour produced an unspeakable confusion in the company. The author of a book, entitled, *The Devil upon two Sticks*, (6th edit. part i. p. 237.) observes, " That the wife of the Treasurer General of the council to the Indies run mad " with vexation, at being obliged to turn her coach in a " narrow street, to make way for that of the Duchess of " Medina Coeli." See Dr Harris's *Astronomical Dialogues*, 2d edit. p. 19.

Is trusted with the Form and Matter  
 Of all mankind, by careful nature; 880  
 Where man brings nothing but the stuff  
 She frames the wond'rous fabric of:  
 Who therefore, in a streight, may freely  
 Demand the *Clergy of her Belly*,  
 And make it savour the same way, 885  
 It seldom misses to betray.  
 Unless both parties wisely enter  
 Into the liturgy indenture.

Y. 884. *Demand the Clergy of her Belly.*] This was, and is, allow'd to criminals with child. (See Wood's *Institute of the Laws of England*, p. 662.) 'Twas a privilege allowed by the Egyptians, and other nations, who thought it a hardship to destroy the innocent child with the guilty mother. *Vide Diodori Siculi Rer. Antiquar. lib. ii. cap. 3. De Legibus et Judiciis Aegyptiorum.*

Y. 888. *Into the liturgy indenture.*] The generality of the Presbyterians were then married in the manner enjoined by the directory, and not by the liturgy; though there were some few instances to the contrary: and among these, Mr Stephen Marshall (who was a zealot, and had a chief hand in compiling the directory) did marry his own daughter by the form prescribed in the common prayer, being unwilling to have his daughter returned to him as a whore, for want of a legal marriage, the statute establishing the liturgy not being repeal'd: and having so done, he paid down five pounds immediately to the church-wardens of the parish, as the fine or forfeiture for using any other form of marriage, but that in the directory. (Heylin's *Examen-Historicum*, p. 364. Walker's *History of Independency*, part i. p. 80.) Sir John Birkenhead seems to sneer such kind of marriages, (*Paul's Churchyard*, cent. I. class. iii. sect. 42.) *Liber Crasus tres pollices*: A catalogue of such women as are not wives, maids, nor widows, being married without either law or liturgy; some by a directory, and some by nothing.

By an ordinance of August, 1653, chap. 6. (Schobel's *Collections*, part ii. p. 236.) 'twas enacted, "That all persons  
 "intending to be married, shall come before some justice  
 "of peace, within, and of the same county, city, or town  
 "corporate, where publication shall be made as aforesaid,

And though some Fits of small contest  
 Sometimes fall out among the best;  
 That is no more than every lover  
 Does from his hackney lady suffer;  
 That makes no breach of faith and love,  
 But rather (sometimes) serves t' improve.  
 For, as in running, *every Pace*  
 Is but between two legs a Race,

890

895

"and shall bring a certificate of the said publication, (in  
 "church or chapel, or if the parties so to be married shall  
 "desire it, in the market-place, next to the said church or  
 "chapel, on three market-days, on three several weeks en-  
 "suing), and shall make sufficient proof of the consent of  
 "their parents, and guardians, if either of the said parties  
 "is under the age of one and twenty years; and the said  
 "justice shall examine by witnesses upon oath, or otherwise  
 "as he shall see cause, concerning the due performance  
 "of the premises—and if there appear no reasonable cause  
 "to the contrary, the marriage shall proceed in this man-  
 "ner: The man to be married, taking the woman to be  
 "married by the hand, shall plainly and distinctly pro-  
 "nounce these words: I *A. B.* do in the presence of God,  
 "the searcher of all hearts, take thee *C. D.* for my wedded  
 "wife, and do also in the presence of God, and before  
 "these witnesses, promise to be unto thee a loving and  
 "faithful husband."

The woman promises in the same form, to be a loving,  
 faithful and obedient wife.

"And it is further enacted, That the man and woman  
 "having made sufficient proof of the consent of their pa-  
 "rents or guardians, and expressed their consent unto mar-  
 "riage, in the manner, and by the words aforesaid, before  
 "such justice of the peace, in the presence of two or more  
 "credible witnesses, the said justice of the peace may and  
 "shall declare the said man and woman to be thenceforth  
 "husband and wife—and the marriage shall be good and  
 "effectual in law; and no other marriage whatsoever with-  
 "in the commonwealth of England, after the 29th of Sep-  
 "tember, one thousand six hundred and fifty-three, shall be  
 "held or accounted a marriage according to the laws of  
 "England."



In which both do their uttermost  
 To get before, and won the Post;  
 Yet when they're at their race's ends,  
 They're still as kind and constant friends, 900  
 And, to relieve their weariness,  
 By turns give one another ease:  
 So all those false alarms of strife,  
 Between the husband and the wife,  
 And little quarrels often prove 905  
 To be but new recruits of love:  
 When those wh' are always kind or coy,  
 In time must either tire or cloy.  
 Nor are their loudest clamours more,  
 Than as they're relish'd, Sweet or Sour: 910  
 Like music, that proves bad, or good,  
 According as 'tis understood.  
 In all amours a lover burns  
 With frowns, as well as smiles, by turns:  
 And hearts have been as oft with sullen, 915  
 As charming looks, surpriz'd and stolen.  
 Then why should more bewitching clamour  
 Some lovers not as much enamour?  
 For discords make the sweetest airs,  
 And curses are a kind of pray'rs: 920  
 Too slight alloys, for all those grand  
 Felicities by marriage gain'd.

ψ. 905, 906. *And little quarrels often prove—To be but new recruits of love.*] *Amantium iræ amoris integratio est.* Terentii Andr. III. iii. 23.

*In amore hac omnia insunt vitia; injuriæ, suspiciones, Inimicitia, induciæ, bellum, pax rursum.*

Terentii Eunuch.

“ Sometimes my plague, sometimes my darling,

“ Kissing to-day, to-morrow snarling.”

Mr Prior. See Guardian, No. 73.

ψ. 9  
 cient n  
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 founder  
 a large  
 Church  
 Vol



For nothing else has pow'r to settle  
 The interests of love perpetual;  
 An act and deed that makes one heart 925  
 Become another's counter-part,  
 And *passes Fines* on faith and love,  
 Inroll'd and register'd above,  
 To seal the slippery knots of vows,  
 Which nothing else but death can loose : 930  
 And what security's too strong  
 To guard that gentle heart from wrong,  
 That to its friend is glad to pass  
 Itself away, and all it has,  
 And like an Anchoret gives over 935  
 This world, for th' heaven of a lover ?  
 I grant (quoth she) there are some few  
 Who take that course, and find it true ;  
 But millions whom the same does sentence  
 To heav'n, b' another way, repentance. 940  
 Love's arrows are but shot at rovers,  
 Though all they hit they turn to lovers ;  
 And all the weighty consequents  
 Depend upon more blind events  
 Than gamesters, when they play a set 945  
 With greatest cunning at piquet,  
 Put out with caution, but take in  
 They know not what, unsight, unseen.  
 For what do lovers, when they're fast  
 In one another's arms embrac't, 950

Y. 935. *And like an Anchoret, &c.*] Anchorets were ancient monks who retired from society, and lived in private cells; such were Paul, and Anthony, and Hilarion, the first founders of the monastic life in Egypt and Palestine. See a larger account, Bingham's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, book vii. ch. 2. vol. iii. p. 13.

But strive to plunder, and convey  
 Each other, like a prize, away?  
 To change the property of selves,  
 As sucking children are by Elves?

ψ. 954. *As sucking children are by Elves.*] Some are of opinion, that the Fairies (called *elves* by Chaucer, Spenser, and other writers, as Sheringham, *De Gentis Anglor. Orig. cap.* iv. p. 320, 326. *Skinneri Lexic. Etymologic. sub voce Elf*.) change children in their cradles, and lay others in their stead: to which Spenser alludes, *Fairy Queen*, book I. can. x. st. 35. vol. I. p. 138.

"For well I wote thou spring'st from ancient race  
 "Of Saxon kings, that have with mighty hand  
 "And many bloody battle fought in place,  
 "High rear'd their royal throne in Britain-land,  
 "And vanquish'd them unable to withstand:  
 "From thence a Fairy thee unweeting reft,  
 "There as thou slept in tender swaddling band,  
 "And her base elfin brood there for thee left;  
 "Such men do changelings call, so changed by Fairy theft."

Thus Henry IV. speaking of Prince Henry his son to the Earl of Northumberland, whose son was hopeful, (*Shakespeare's First Part of Henry IV. act i. vol. III. p. 346.*)

"—Oh! could it be prov'd—  
 "That some night-tripping Fairy had exchange'd  
 "In cradle-cloaths our children where they lay,  
 "And call'd mine *Percie*, his *Plantagenet*—  
 "Then would I have his Harry, and he mine."

See Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, act ii. Works, vol. I. p. 81. Ben Johnson's *Underwood*, Works, vol. I. p. 208. Warner's *Albion's England*, book XIV. chap. xci. p. 368.

Nay, some have thought that the devil takes children out of the cradle, and lays children of his own in their place. Luther was of this opinion; for, in his *Mensalia*; or, *Table-talk*, chap. xxxv, p. 387, he says, "Such changelings  
 "*supponit Satan in locum verorum filiorum*;—one of these  
 "more souleth itself than ten other children; so that their  
 "parents are much disquieted therewith, and their mothers  
 "are able to give suck no more." This is hinted at by the author of *Amadis de Gaul*, (third book, chap. x. p. 99.) in

And if they use their persons so, 955  
 What will they to their Fortunes do?  
 Their Fortunes! the perpetual aims  
 Of all their extasies and flames.  
 For when the money's on the book,  
 And, *All my Worldly Goods*—but spoke, 960  
 (The formal livery and seisin  
 That puts a lover in possession)  
 To that alone the bridegroom's wedded,  
 The bride a flam that's superseded;  
 To that their faith is still made good, 965  
 And all the oaths to us they vow'd.

his romantic account of Andriagus, slain by Amadis, who was a monster of the devil's begetting, and sucked out the hearts' blood of three nurses in a few days.

The author of the *Devil upon two Sticks* merrily banters this opinion in the characters of Asmodeo and Senior Divito, twin-brothers, part I. chap. iii. p. 19. Mr Glanville seems to give in to the opinion of the devil's begetting children, from Dr Horneck's account of some witches condemned in Sweden, 1669. (See *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, part ii. p. 322.) But Wierus has exposed this opinion. (*De Præstig. Damon. lib. I. cap. xxiv. p. 129. lib. III. cap. xx. p. 322.* and Scott, *Discovery of Witchcraft*, 4th book, 2d chapter, p. 74; &c. 10th chapter, p. 85.) See this point discussed, tom. xi. *Malleor. Mallefcar. 1588. p. 84.* Public Library, Cambridge, k. 16, 24.

Y. 959. *For when the money's on the book,*] Alluding to the ministers' and clerks' fees, which are ordered by the Rubric to be laid upon the book, (though now rarely practised), with the wedding-ring. Before the time of Pope Innocent the III. (see *Marriage*, *Jacob's Law Dictionary*)  
 "There was no solemnization of marriage in the church,  
 "but the man came to the house where the woman inhabited,  
 "bited, and led her home to his own house, which was all  
 "the ceremony then used."

Y. 960. *And, All my worldly Goods—but spoke.*] See Mr Wheatley's *Rational Illustration of the Common-Prayer*, fol. edition, p. 407, 410.

For when we once resign our pow'rs,  
 W' have nothing left we can call ours :  
 Our money's now become the Miss  
 Of all your lives and services : 970  
 And we, forsaken, and postpon'd,  
 But bawds to what before we own'd ;  
 Which as it made y' at first gallant us,  
 So now hires others to supplant us,  
 Until 'tis all turn'd out of doors, 975  
 (As we had been) for new Amours.  
 For what did ever Heirefs yet  
 By being born to Lordships, get ?  
 When the more *Lady sb' is of Manours*,  
 She's but expos'd to more trepanners, 980  
 Pays for their projects and desigas,  
 And for her own destruction fines ;  
 And does but tempt them, with her riches,  
 To use her as the dev'l does witches ;  
 Who takes it for a special grace, 985  
 To be their cully for a space,  
 That, when the time's expir'd, the drazels  
 For ever may become his vassals :

ψ. 985, 986. *Who takes it for a special grace,—To be their cully for a space.* Sir Roger L'Estrange (Fables, part i. fab. 308. A wicked Man and the Devil,) makes mention of a notorious wicked malefactor, who had committed I know not how many villainies, and had run through the discipline of so many goals, who made a friend of the devil to help him out in all his distresses. This friend of his brought him off many and many a time, and still as he was taken up again and again, he had his recourse over and over to the same devil for succour : but upon his last summons, the devil came to him with a great bag of old shoes at his back, and told him plainly, " Friend, (says he) I am at the end " of my line, and can help you no longer ; I have beat the " hoof, till I have worn out all these shoes in your service, " and not one penny left me to buy more ; so that you must " e'en excuse me, if I drop you here."

So she, bewitch'd by Rooks and Spirits,  
 Betrays herself, and all sh' inherits ; 990  
 Is bought and sold, like stolen goods,  
 By Pimps, and Match-makers, and Bawds :  
 Until they force her to convey  
 And steal the thief himself away.  
 These are the everlasting fruits 995  
 Of all your passionate love-suits,  
 Th' effects of all your *amorous Fancies*,  
 To Portions and Inheritances ;  
 Your love-sick rapture, for Fruition  
 Of Dowry, Jointure, and Tuition ; 1000  
 To which you make address and courtship,  
*And with your Bodies strive to worship*,  
 That th' infant's fortunes may partake  
 Of love too, for the mother's sake.  
 For these you play at Purposes, 1005  
 And love your loves with A's and B's :  
 For these, at *Beste* and *L'Ombre* woo,  
 And play for Love and Money too :  
 Strive who shall be the ablest man  
 At right *Gallanting of a Fan* : 1010  
 And who the most gently bred :  
 At sucking of a Vizard-Bead ;

y. 987. — *the drazels*.] A word used by Warner, in his *Albion's England*, book 9. chap. xlvii. p. 201.

" Now dwells each droffel in her glass ; when I was  
 young I wot

" On holy-days, (for seldom else), such idle times we  
 got."

y. 1010. *At right Gallanting of a Fan*.] See the exercise  
 of the fan humourously described by Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq ;  
 (Tatler, No. 102.) At Bologna in Italy, where it is ex-  
 tremely hot, it is a custom for the men to use fans, as well  
 as the women. *Misson's Voyages*, vol. ii. p. 203.

How best t' accost us, in all quarters,  
 T' our Question-and-Command New Garters;  
 And solidly discourse upon 1015  
 All sorts of dresses, *Pro* and *Con*.  
 For there's no mystery nor trade,  
 But in the art of love is made.  
 And when you have more debts to pay  
 Than Michaelmas and Lady-Day, 1020  
 And no way possible to do't  
 But Love and Oaths, and *restless Suit*,  
 To us y' apply, to pay the scores  
 Of all your cully'd, past amours:  
 Act o'er your Flames and Darts again, 1025  
 And charge us with your wounds and pain;  
 Which others influences long since  
 Have charm'd *your Noses* with, and Shins;  
 For which the Surgeon is unpaid,  
 And like to be, without our aid. 1030  
 Lord! what an am'rous thing is Want!  
 How Debts and Mortgages inchant!  
 What graces must that lady have,  
 That can from Executions save!  
 What charms, that can reverse extent, 1035  
 And null Decree, and Exigent!  
 What *magical Attracts* and Graces,  
 That can redeem from *Scire facias*!

ψ. 1035. — *Extent*.] A writ of commission from the sheriffs for valuing lands and tenements.

ψ. 1036. *And null Decree, and Exigent*.] *Exigent*, a writ lying where the defendant, in an action personal, cannot be found, or any thing in the county whereby he may be attached or distrained.

ψ. 1038. — *Scire facias*.] A writ, calling one to shew, why judgment passed, at least a year, should not be executed.



From Bonds and Statutes can discharge,  
 And from Contempts of courts enlarge! 1040  
 These are the highest excellencies  
 Of all your true or false pretences.  
 And you would damn yourselves, and swear  
 As much t' an Hostess Dowager,  
 Grown fat and purfy by retail 1045  
 Of pots of beer and bottled ale;  
 And find her fitter for your turn,  
 For fat is wondrous apt to burn;  
 Who at your flames would soon take fire,  
 Relent, and melt to your desire, 1050  
 And, like a candle in the socket,  
 Dissolve her graces int' your pocket.

By this time 'twas grown dark and late,  
 When they heard a knocking at the gate,

ψ. 1043, 1044. — and swear—As much t' a Hostess Dowager.] Sir Roger L'Estrange, (Fable of a Cavalier and Court Lady, part ii. fab. 34.) in banter of such flights, observes, That a Cavalier had a fine woman in his eye, and could not forbear telling her, that she was wondrous pretty. "Sir, (says the Lady), I thank you for your good opinion; "and I wish, with all my heart, I could say as much of "you too." "Why, so you might, Madam, (says the gentleman), if you made no more conscience of a lie than I "do." See Chancer's Poem entitled, A Praise of Women. edit. 1602. fol. 261. Sir William Cornwallley's Essay 24th. Of Fantastickness, edit. 1610.

ψ. 1045, 1046. Grown fat and purfy by retail—Of pots of beer and bottled ale.] See Warner's description of a hostess, Albion's England, book 15. ch. xcix. p. 391, 392.

ψ. 1053, 1054. By this time 'twas grown dark and late, —When they heard a knocking at the gate.] Two days were but yet passed since the beginning of these adventures; we are now entering into the night, wherein happened the most remarkable action in the whole Poem. Mr Butler, in this piece of management, imitated Homer and Virgil, who are equally celebrated for their night adventures. But who are the persons that knock at the gate? Probably two of the

Laid on in haste with such a powder, 1055  
 The blows grew louder still and louder :  
 Which Hudibras, as if th' had been  
 Bestow'd as freely on his skin,  
 Expounding by his inward light,  
 Or rather more prophetic fright, 1060  
 To be the Wizard, come to search,  
 And take him napping in the lurch,  
 Turn'd pale as ashes, or a clout ;  
 But why, or wherefore, is a doubt :  
*For Men will tremble and turn paler,* 1065  
*With too much, or too little Valour.*  
 His heart laid on, as if it try'd  
 To force a passage through his side,  
 Impatient (as he vow'd) to wait 'em,  
 But in a fury to fly at 'em ; 1070  
 And therefore beat, and laid about,  
 To find a cranny to creep out.  
 But she who saw in what a taking  
 The Knight was, by his furious quaking,  
 Undaunted cry'd, Courage, Sir Knight ; 1075  
*Know, I'm resolv'd to break no rite*  
*Of hospitality t' a stranger ;*  
*But, to secure you out of danger,*

Lady's own servants ; for as she and Ralpho (who all the time lay in ambuscade) had been descanting on the Knight's villainies, so they had undoubtedly laid this scheme to be revenged of him : the servants were disguised, and acted in a bold and hectoring manner, pursuant to the instruction given them by the Widow. (See Canto iii. *ψ*. 83.) The Knight was to be made believe, they were Sidrophel and Whachum, which made his fright and consternation so great, that we find him falling into a swoon. Mr B.

*ψ*. 1076, 1077. Know, I'm resolv'd to break no rite—Of hospitality.] See the great regard some of the Ancients paid to the laws of hospitality, (*Diodori Siculi Biblioth. lib. xii.*

*Will here myself stand sentinel,  
To guard this pass 'gainst Sidrophel.* 1080

*Women, you know, do seldom fail  
To make the stoutest Man turn tail;  
And bravely scorn to turn their backs  
Upon the desperate attacks.*

*At this the Knight grew resolute,* 1085

*As Ironside or Hardiknute;  
His fortitude began to rally,  
And out he cry'd aloud to rally.*

*But she besought him to convey*

*His courage rather out o' th' way,* 1090

*And lodge in ambush on the floor,*

*Or fortify'd behind a door :*

*That if the enemy shou'd enter,*

*He might relieve her in th' adventure.*

*Mean while they knock'd against the door,* 1095

*As fierce as at the gate before ;*

*Which made the renegado Knight*

*Relapse again t' his former fright.*

*He thought it desperate to stay*

*Till th' enemy had forc'd his way,* 1100

p. 293. *Vide etiam Gul. Stuckii Antiqu. Convivial. lib. I. cap. xxvii. p. 81. ad 96. edit. Tiguri, 1582.*) Lewis's History of the Parthian Empire, p. 203, 204, 230. Peter the Great, late Czar of Muscovy, behaved gallantly in this respect: he being desired by the Turks, in order to a peace, to deliver up Prince Cantemir, who was then under his protection, his answer was, "That he would resign all the country as far as Curska to the Turk, since there was hopes of recovering it again; but would by no means violate his faith to a Prince who had abandoned his principality for his sake; because it was impossible to repair honour once forfeited." See Prince Cantemir's Growth of the Othman Empire, p. 455.

ψ. 1086. *As Ironside, or Hardiknute, &c.*] \* Two famous and valiant princes of this country, the one a Saxon, the other a Dane.

But rather post himself, to serve  
 The Lady for a *fresh Reserve*.  
 His duty was not to dispute,  
 But what sh' had order'd execute :  
 Which he resolv'd in haste t' obey, 1105  
 And therefore stoutly march'd away :  
 And all h' encounter'd fell upon,  
 Though in the dark, and all alone.  
 Till fear, that braver feats performs,  
 Than ever courage dar'd in arms, 1110  
 Had drawn him up before a pass,  
 To stand upon his guard, and face :  
 This he courageously invaded,  
 And having enter'd, Barricado'd ;  
 Inscorc'd himself as formidable 1115  
 As could be underneath a table ;  
 Where he lay down in ambush close,  
 T' expect th' arrival of his foes.  
 Few minutes he had lain perdue,  
 To guard his desp'rate avenue, 1120  
 Before he heard a dreadful shout,  
 As loud as putting to the rout ;  
 With which impatiently alarm'd,  
 He fancy'd th' enemy had storm'd,  
 And, after ent'ring, Sidrophel 1125  
 Was fall'n upon the guards pell-mell.  
 He therefore sent out all his senses,  
 To bring him in intelligences ;  
 Which vulgars, out of ignorance,  
 Mistake for falling in a trance ; 1130

y. 1131. *But those that trade in Geomancy, &c.] Geomantia, sorcery by circles and pricks in the earth. (Mr S. W.) Vide Wieri de Præst. Dæm. lib. II. cap. xv. p. 206. Jo. Fra. Pici Mirandulæ Oper. tom. ii. passim. Tract of Henry Cornelius Agrippa, Of Geomancy.*

But those that trade in Geomancy,  
 Affirm to be the strength of fancy :  
 In which the Lapland Magi deal,  
 And things incredible reveal.  
 Mean while the foe beat up his quarters, 1135  
 And storm'd the out-works of his fortress.  
 And as another of the same  
 Degree and party, in arms and fame,  
 That in the same cause had engag'd,  
 And war with equal conduct wag'd, 1140  
 By vent'ring only but to thrust  
 His head a span beyond his post,  
 B' a Gen'ral of the Cavaliers  
 Was dragg'd thro' a window by the ears ;

ψ. 1132, 1133. *Affirm to be the strength of fancy:—In which the Lapland Magi deal.* \* *The Lapland Magi.* The Laplanders are an idolatrous people far north ; and it is very credibly reported by authors and persons that have travelled in their country, that they do perform things incredible, by what is vulgarly called *magic*. Scheffer observes of them, (*History of Lapland*, 8vo. 1704, p. 143, &c.) That they often fall into trances, in which they continue for some time, and then pretend to foretel things very surprising.

ψ. 1137, 1138, 1139, 1140, 1141, 1142, 1143, 1144. *And as another of the same—Degree and party, in arms and fame,—That in the same cause had engag'd,—And war with equal conduct wag'd,—By vent'ring only but to thrust—His head a span beyond his post,—B' a Gen'ral of the Cavaliers—Was dragg'd thro' a window by the ears.* This was Sir Erasmus P. of P——n castle in Pembroke-shire, who was so served by Colonel Egerton. The Colonel, the officer of the Cavaliers sent against the castle, summoned Sir Erasmus to surrender it ; he refused, but offered to parley from a window which was not very high from the ground : he was a little man, and the commanding officer of the Cavaliers lusty and tall : the officer observing this, came just under the window, and pretending that he was deaf, desired Sir Erasmus to lean as forward as he could out of the win-



So he was serv'd in his redoubt,  
And by the other end pull'd out.

1145

Soon as they had him at their mercy,  
They put him to the cudgel fiercely,

dow; upon his doing so, the officer, who was on horseback, raised himself upon his stirrups, seized him by the shoulders, and pulled him out: upon which the castle was surrendered. Mr Walter Moyle alludes to this action in his works, published by himself, 1695, and reprinted 1727, p. 241, &c. where, in a letter probably to Mr Anthony Hammond, he wishes, that Sir Erasmus's son, Sir J. P. a great reformer in King Charles II's time, might be served in the same manner: "Can you contrive no way in the earth to rid the house of his ghostly authority? Cannot you serve him as his father was served by a General of the Cavaliers? If you never heard the story, Hudibras will tell it you;

"And as another of the same

"Degree and party," &c. —

"Betty Mackrell, or some other discreet bawd, should demand a conference with him in the lobby, lug him out by the ears, and send him upon a mission to the West Indies, to preach his morals to Father Hennepin's nations, who are not civilized into lewdness, nor wise enough to be wicked: on this side the globe he'll make no converts but such as his namesake in the Acts made, *eunuchs*."

Y. 1147, 1148. *Soon as they had him at their mercy, — They put him to the cudgel fiercely.*] In Mr Butler's poem, called *Dunstable Downs*; or, *The Incharned Cave*, (Remains) there is as humorous and drolling a scene of the Knight, in one of his unfortunate exploits, as this we are now entering upon. But, alas! the poor Squire is also involved in that; and they are both severely handled and frightened; and the Squire opens, and fully discovers the iniquitous actions and proceedings of the Knight in these and all his other adventures: one of which, as we learn from the said poem, was his procuring, or pretending to have a grant from the then usurping Powers to inclose *Dunstable Downs*, (where the neighbourhood had a right of commoning), on pretence the same had been given to superstitious uses. The whole poem is worthy of perusal, and gives us a near insight into our Hero's character and principles. (Mr B.) See the usage



As if they'd scorn'd to trade or barter,  
 By giving or by taking quarter, 1150  
 They stoutly on his quarters laid,  
 Until his scouts came in t' his aid.  
 For when a *Man is past his Sense*,  
 There's no way to reduce him thence,  
 But twinging him by th' Ears or Nose, 1155  
 Or laying on of *heavy Blows*:  
 And if that will not do the deed,  
 To burning with Hot Irons proceed.  
 No sooner was he come t' himself,  
 But on his neck a sturdy elf 1160  
 Clap'd in a trice his cloven hoof,  
 And thus attack'd him with reproof.

of Don Quixote, and Donna Rodriguez, in the dark, by the Ducheſs, and ſome of her women. (Don Quixote, vol. IV. chap. xlviii. p. 487. and chap. I. p. 490.) And the examination of Juſtice Allgripe, by Lurcher and his companions perſonating furies. Night-Walker, act iv.

ψ. 1153. *For when a man is paſt his Senſe.*] See note upon Part I. Canto ii. ψ. 974.

ψ. 1158. *To burning with, &c.*] \* An alluſion to cauterizing in apoplexies, &c.

ψ. 1160, 1161. *But on his neck a ſturdy elf  
 Clapp'd, in a trice, his cloven hoof.*]

“ The beaſt at one end branded, you may trace

“ The devil's footſteps in his cloven face.”

Cleveland's Hue and Cry after Sir John Preſbyter, p. 40.

Nurſe, in the Night-Walker, or Little Thief, act ii. thus expreſſes herſelf:

“ Mercy upon me !

“ The ghhoſt of one of his guard ſure; 'tis the devil by  
 “ his claws; he ſmells of brimſtone, ſure he farts fire—

“ What an earthquake I have in me !

“ Out with thy Prayer-Book, Nurſe—

“ Let's call the butler up, for he ſpeaks Latin; and that  
 “ will daunt the devil: I am blaſted, my belly's grown to  
 “ nothing !”—

Mortal, thou art betray'd to us  
 B' our Friend, thy Evil Genius,  
 Who for they horrid Perjuries, 1165  
 Thy Breach of Faith, and turning Lies,  
 The Brethren's Privilege (against  
 The wicked) on themselves, the Saints,  
 Has here thy wretched carcass sent,  
 For just revenge and punishment; 1170  
 Which thou hast now no way to lessen,  
 But by an open, free confession;  
 For if we catch thee failing once,  
 'Twill fall the heavier on thy bones.

What made thee venture to betray, 1175  
 And filch the Lady's heart away?  
 To spirit her to Matrimony?——  
 That which contracts all matches, Money.  
 It was th' enchantment of her riches,  
 That made m' apply t' your Crony Witches; 1180  
 That in return wou'd pay th' expence,  
 The Wear-and-Tear of Conscience;  
 Which I cou'd have patch'd up, and turn'd,  
 For th' hundredth part of what I earn'd.  
 Didst thou not love her then? Speak true. 1185  
 No more (quoth he) than I love you.

"A conceit there is, (says Sir Thomas Browne, *Vulgar Errors*, book v. chap. 21.) that the devil commonly appeareth with a cloven hoof; wherein, although it seem excessively ridiculous, there may be somewhat of truth, and the ground thereof at first might be his frequent appearing in the shape of a goat, which answers the description." "Saving the reputation of St Hierome, and Dr Browne, (says Mr Webster, *Displaying of supposed Witchcraft*, chap. xv. p. 283.) it is but a supposition unproved, that ever the devil appeared in the shape of a goat; the rise of the opinion was only because the devil was worshipped in an idol made in the shape of a goat."

*How wouldst th' have us'd her, and her Money?*

First turn'd her up to alimony;

And laid her dowry out in law,

To null her jointure with a flaw

1190

Which I before-hand had agreed

T' have put, on purpose, in the deed;

And bar her widow's making over

T' a friend in trust, or private lover.

*What made thee pick and chuse her out*

1195

T' employ their sorceries about?

That which makes gamesters play with those

Who have least wit, and most to lose.

*But didst thou scourge thy Vessel thus,*

*As thou hast damn'd thyself to us?*

1200

I see you take me for an ass:

'Tis true, I thought the trick wou'd pass

Upon a woman well enough,

As 't has been often found by proof;

Whose humours are not to be won

1205

But when they are impos'd upon,

For Love approves of all they do

That stand for candidates, and woo.

¶ 1188. *First turn'd her up to alimony.*] *Alimony* is that allowance which may be sued for by a married woman upon any occasional separation from her husband, when she is not charged with adultery, or elopement. (Jacob's Law Dictionary. Bailey's Dictionary.) Hudibras's usage of his mistress in this case would not have been quite so bad as Stakeley's usage of his wife; who being reprimanded by Queen Elizabeth for using her ill, he told her Majesty, That he had already turned her into her petticoat, and if any man could make more of her, they might take her for him. (Earl of Strafford's Letters, vol. i. p. 380.) And not worse than the Christian liberty of the saints of those times, mentioned by Sir John Birkenhead, (Paul's Church-yard, cent. i. cl. 3. No. 50.) of shifting their wives; and if not for their turn, of turning them off, and taking new ones.

*Why didst thou forge those shameful lies,  
Of Bears and Witches in disguise?*

1210

That is no more than authors give  
The rabble credit to believe :

A trick of following their Leaders,  
To entertain their gentle Readers.

And we have now no other way  
Of passing all we do or say ;

1215

Which, when 'tis natural and true,  
Will be believ'd b' a very few.

Befide the danger of offence,

The fatal enemy of sense.

1220

*Why dost thou chuse that cursed Sin,  
Hypocrisy, to set up in ?*

Because it is the thriving'st calling,  
The only Saints-Bell that rings all in ;

In which all churches are concern'd,

1225

And is the easiest to be learn'd :

For no degrees, unless th' employ't,

Can ever gain much, or enjoy't.

A gift that is not only able

To domineer among the rabble,

1230

But by the laws empower'd to rout,

And awe the greatest that stand out :

Which few hold forth against, for fear

Their hands should slip, and come too near ;

For no sin else among the saints

1235

Is taught so tenderly against.

*What made thee break thy plighted Vows ?*

That which makes others break a house,  
And hang, and scorn you all, before

Endure the plague of being poor.

1240

Quoth he, *I see you have more tricks  
Than all your doating politicks,*

*That are grown old, and out of fashion,  
Compar'd with your New Reformation:  
That we must come to school to you,* 1245  
*To learn your More Refin'd, and New.*

Quoth he, If you will give me leave  
To tell you what I now perceive,  
You'll find yourself an arrant chouse,  
If y' were but at a Meeting-House. 1250

'Tis true, quoth he, we ne'er come there,  
Because w' have let 'em out by th' Year.

Truly, quoth he, you can't imagine  
What wond'rous things they will engage in:  
That as your fellow-fiends in hell 1255  
Were angels all before they fell;  
So are you like to be agen,  
Compar'd with th' angels of us men.

Quoth he, *I am resolv'd to be  
Thy scholar in this Mystery;* 1260  
*And therefore first desire to know  
Some principles on which you go.*

*What makes a knave a child of God,  
And one of us?—A livelihood.  
What renders beating out of brains,* 1265  
*And murther, godlinefs?—Great gains.*

*What's tender conscience?—'Tis a botch,*  
That will not bear the gentlest touch;  
But breaking out, dispatches more  
Than th' epidemical'st plague-sore. 1270

Y. 1263. What makes a knave a child of God?] This is a ridicule on the numerous pamphlets published in those times, under the name and form of catechisms. Cheynel's Profane Catechism, Heylin's Rebel's Catechism, Watſon's Cavalier's Catechism, Ram's Soldier's Catechism, Parker's Political Catechism, &c. Mr W.

Y. 1269, 1270, But breaking out, dispatches more—Than

*What makes y' encroach upon our trade,  
And damn all others?—To be paid.*

*What's Orthodox and true believing  
Against a conscience?—A good living.*

*What makes rebelling against kings* 1275  
*A good old Cause?—Administ'ings.*

*What makes all doctrine plain and clear?*  
*About two hundred pounds a year.*

*And that which was prov'd true before,  
Prove false again?—Two hundred more.* 1280

*What makes the breaking of all oaths  
A holy duty?—Food and cloaths.*

*What laws and freedom, persecution?—  
B'ing out of pow'r, and contribution.*

*What makes a church a den of thieves?* 1285  
*A dean and chapter, and white sleeves.*

*And what would serve, if those were gone,  
To make it Orthodox?—Our own.*

*th' epidemical'st plague-sore.*] Alluding either to the terrible plague in the reign of King Charles I. (see Lilly's Life); or that in 1665, in which there died in London, 68,586. See Dr Calamy's Continuation, &c. p. 33. Impartial Examination of Mr Neal's 4th volume of the History of the Puritans, p. 345.

ψ. 1273. *What's Orthodox and true believing?*] See this explained, Sir Roger L'Estrange's Reflection on the Fable of the Hermit and Soldier, part i. fab. 38. Impartial Examination of Mr Neal's 4th volume of the History of the Puritans, p. 325. note. *Ibid.* p. 348.

ψ. 1287, 1288. *And what would serve, if those were gone,  
—To make it Orthodox?—Our own*] To prove by what arts and shifts this was done, give me leave to quote part of a smart satire, printed 1659, entitled, Peter's Pattern: or, The perfect Path to Worldly Happiness, as delivered at the Funeral Oration of Mr Hugh Peters (though then living). "The gifts of ignorance, lying, impudence, informing, cozening and hypocrisy, belong to such as seek preferment, whether civil or military; but all of them are re-



*What makes morality a crime,  
The most notorious of the time;*

1290

*Morality, which both the Saints  
And Wicked too, cry out against?*

'Cause grace and virtue are within  
Prohibited-degrees of kin :

And therefore no true Saint allows

1295

They shall be suffer'd to espouse :

For Saints can need no conscience,

That with morality dispense ;

As virtue's impious, when 'tis rooted

In nature only, and not imputed :

1300

But why the Wicked should do so,

We neither know, or care to do.

" quired to make up a minister of the word, (in those times).  
 " First, That a preaching professor may make use of his  
 " time, it is required, that he be stored with impudence.—  
 " The uses of it are two: First, To encourage you to the  
 " most desperate enterprizes; and, secondly, To make you  
 " scorn the reproaches of those who reprove ye. As for  
 " example, my beloved, if you see one of your enemies  
 " seated in a warm living, and that your hearts pant and  
 " thirst after the same; you ought then to put on your  
 " nightcap of devotion, and your garment of hypocrisy,  
 " and go to your superiors, and say, Yonder is a man, who  
 " is not of the congregation of professors, who is planted in  
 " a rich living; he is a scandalous and disaffected person,  
 " and I am more worthy than he, pray put me into his  
 " place: if men therefore rebuke you, and call you accuser,  
 " and devil, then ought you to make use of your gift of  
 " impudence, and laugh at them all: thus did Holy Nye  
 " throw out Unrighteous Juxon, out of his parsonage of  
 " Fulham: thus did our brother Marshall become possessed  
 " of his fat living in the land of Essex: this emboldened  
 " our departed brother to hold forth in the pulpit of White-  
 " hall, where so many learned (as the Heathens call them)  
 " had been before him. What cared they for the reproaches  
 " of men; for their hearts were seared with a hot iron of  
 " impudence, finding themselves at ease, and filled with  
 " joy." *Phoenix Britannicus*, p. 257. Mr B.

*What's liberty of conscience,  
P' th' natural and genuine sense?*

'Tis to restore, with more security, 1305  
Rebellion to its ancient purity,  
And Christian liberty reduce  
To th' elder practice of the Jews.

For a large conscience is all one,  
And signifies the same with None. 1310

*It is enough (quoth he) for once,  
And has repriev'd thy forfeit bones :*

ψ. 1301, 1302. *But why the Wicked should do so,—We neither know, or care to do.]* A fine wipe upon the immorality of the Cavaliers. (Mr W.) And I will beg leave to add, that as fine a wipe was given by a Cavalier upon the Roundheads, to one of General Fairfax's officers, who was vaunting of the sanctity of their army, and the negligence of the Cavaliers. "Faith (says he) you say true; for in "our army we have the sins of men, drinking and wenching; but in yours you have those of devils, spiritual "pride and rebellion." (Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 253.) And it is observed by Mr Cowley, in his Preface to The Cutter of Coleman-street, "That the vices and extravagancies imputed vulgarly to the Cavaliers, were "really committed by aliens, who only usurped that name, "and endeavoured to cover the report of their indigency, and infamy of their actions, with so honourable "a title."

ψ. 1307, 1308. *And Christian liberty reduce—To th' elder practice of the Jews.]* Alluding to the frequent rebellions of the ancient Jews against the Lord, and his vicegerents: whereas the modern ones are quiet under all governments, which practice they found upon the Prophet Jeremiah's exhortation to the captives of Babylon, chap. 29.

ψ. 1309, 1310. *For a large conscience is all one,—And signifies the same with None.]* 'Tis reported of Judge Jefferys, that taking a dislike to an evidence, who had a long beard, he told him, "That if his conscience was as large "as his beard, he had a swinging one." To which the countryman replied, "My Lord, if you measure consciences "by beards, you have none at all."

*Nick Machiavel* had ne'er a trick,  
(*Though he gave his name to our Old Nick*),

ψ. 1313, 1314. *Nick Machiavel had ne'er a trick*,—Tho<sup>t</sup> he gave his name to our *Old Nick*.] Mr Warburton is of opinion, that this is a blunder of the editors to suppose the devil was called *Old Nick*, from Nick. Machiavel, the Florentine, (but it was certainly the mistake of the Author, who continued it in every edition during his life), who lived in the sixteenth century; whereas they could not but know, that our English writers, before Machiavel's time, used the word *Old Nick* very commonly to signify the devil, that it came from our Saxon ancestors, who called him *Old Nickā*, (The Goths, I will add, called the devil *Nidhog*, and the Danes, the god of the sea, *Nocca*, and some *Nicken*. *Sheringham de Gentis Anglorum Origine*, cap. xiv. p. 324, 331.) and thinks that he gave aim to our *Old Nick*, which has a great deal of humour and satire in it, as supposing Machiavel to be so consummate a politician as to read lectures to the devil himself, would be an emendation.

Another poet of those times expresses himself in the following manner:

" In this prodigal trick,  
" They have outdone *Old Nick*;  
" For what he did, he did show;  
" Their title is the same,  
" And so is their aim,  
" For aught any man doth know."

A City Ballad, Col. of old Songs, vol. II. No. xviii. §. 29.

'Tis observed (in a tract, entitled, A Letter sent to London, from a Spy at Oxford, to Mr Pym, &c. 1643. page 4.) " That they have overmatched old Nicholas Machiavel, " the Florentine; the renowned Guido will be forgot: for " their over-reaching, stratagemical state-brain, will be " matter enough to prove them dull-pated, shallow-brained " coxcombs: their fame and name shall bury their glory " in oblivion:—for all the world knows, that all the devils " in hell could never have brought so much mischief upon " this kingdom, unless they had helped them, and been " the inventors of it." Sancho Pancho pays such a compliment to his master Don Quixote, (book III. chap. xxviii. p. 280.), " That *Old Nick*, or the devil, could not over- " reach him."

But was below the least of these, 1315  
That pass i' th' world, for holiness.

This said, the furies, and the light  
In th' instant vanish'd out of sight;  
And left him in the dark alone,  
With stinks of brimstone and his own. 1320.

The *Queen of Night*, whose large command  
Rules all the sea, and half the land,  
And over moist and crazy brains,  
In high spring-tide, at midnight reigns,  
Was now declining to the West, 1325  
To go to bed, and take her rest;

ψ. 1320. *With stinks of brimstone, &c.*] R. Ga. writeth (in his pamphlet, intitled, *The Execution of the Windsor Witches*) "That he came to the God Speed, and with his sword and buckler kill'd the devil, or at least wounded him so sore, that he made him stink of brimstone." Scot's *Discovery of Witchcraft*, book ii. chap. 3.

ψ. 1321, 1322. *The Queen of Night, whose large command—Rules all the sea, and half the land.*] \* The moon influences the tides, and predominates over all humid bodies; and persons distemper'd in mind are called Lunatics." This is the generally received opinion. (See Dr Harris's *Astronomical Dialogues*, 2d edit. p. 105.) Dr James Young (*Sidrophel Vapulans*, from p. 46, to p. 50. inclusive) endeavours to disprove it. Le Blanc observes, (*Travels*, part I. chap. xv. p. 47.) "That at Cambaye town, 'tis to be noted that the tides are weakest at full moon; which is wonderful and contrary to ours, and the reason not yet found out by any naturalist: The same in Pegu." See an account of the irregular ebbing and flowing of the sea at Tonquin, 1678, by Mr Edmund Halley. *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. xiv. num. 162. p. 677, &c.

ψ. 1325, 1326. *Was now declining to the West,—To go to bed and take her rest.*] Our poet stands alone in this description of the morning's approach; none that I know of besides himself has painted it by the moon's declension: He scorn'd to follow the old beaten custom of describing it by the sun's rising, which he had done once before, part II. Canto ii. ψ. 29. But he here finds out a new way, and altogether just. Mr B.

When Hudibras, whose stubborn blows  
 Deny'd his bones that soft repose,  
 Lay still expecting worse and more,  
 Stretch'd out at length upon the floor: 1330  
 And though he shut his eyes as fast  
 As if h' had been to sleep his last,  
 Saw all the shapes, that fear, or wizards  
 Do make the devil wear for vizards,  
 And pricking up his ears to heark 1335  
 If he cou'd hear too in the dark;  
 Was first invaded with a groan,  
 And after, in a feeble tone,  
 These trembling words, *Unhappy wretch,*  
*What hast thou gotten by this fetch;* 1340  
*Or all thy tricks in this new trade,*  
*Thy holy Brotherhood o' th' blade?*  
*By sauntring still on some adventure,*  
*And growing to thy horse a Centaur?*

Y. 1337, 1338, 1339. *Was first invaded with a groan,—*  
*And after, in a feeble tone,—These trembling words, &c.]*  
 This was the Squire, who, upon the Knight's visit, was conveyed out of sight by the Widow, ver. 157. He had been in ambush, and within hearing, during the late correction of his master. No doubt his examination, confession and punishment had afforded the Squire abundance of diversion; and no sooner had the Furies left the distressed Knight, but he takes him to task, rallies him, and makes him amply discover the secret principles of his sect. All this the Squire accomplishes, by artfully counterfeiting a ghost, and telling the terrified Knight of all his late actions and designs: this gave credit to the imposture, and made it pass. See canto iii. ver. 149, &c. Mr B.

Y. 1342. —[*holy Brotherhood.*] In allusion to a society in Spain so called. (Mr W.) *La Santa Hermandad*, somewhat like our constables. See Don Quixote, vol. I. chap. ii. p. 84. vol. II. part i. book IV. chap. xviii. p. 226, 227, &c. chap. xix. p. 232, &c. Gayton's Notes upon Don Quixote, book II. chap. ii. p. 38. book III. chap. viii. p. 128.

Y. 1344. *And growing to thy horse a Centaur.]* \* The



To stuff thy skin with swelling knobs 1345  
 Of cruel and hard-wooded drubs ?  
 For still th' hast had the worst on't yet,  
 As well in conquest as defeat.  
 Night is the sabbath of mankind,  
 To rest the body and the mind : 1350  
 Which now thou art deny'd to keep,  
 And cure thy labour'd corpse with sleep.  
 The Knight, who heard the words explain'd,  
 As meant to him, this reprimand,  
 Because the character did hit 1355  
 Point-blank upon his case so fit,  
 Believ'd it was some drolling spright  
 That staid upon the guard that night,  
 And one of those h' had seen, and felt  
 The drubs he had so freely dealt. 1360  
 When, after a short pause and groan,  
 The doleful Spirit thus went on :  
 This 'tis t' engage with Dogs and Bears  
 Pell-mell together by the ears,  
 And after painful bangs and knocks, 1365  
 To ly in limbo, in the stocks ;  
 And from the pinnacle of glory  
 Fall headlong into Purgatory :

Centaurs were a people of Thessaly, and supposed to be the first managers of horses ; and the neighbouring inhabitants never having seen any such thing before, fabulously reported them monsters, half men, and half horses." (See an account of the original of Centaurs, *Diodori Siculi Rer. Antiquar. lib. V. cap. viii. p. 115. De Lapathis et Centauris. Thesaur. Critic. Hieronymi Magii cap. 20. Gruteri Fax. Art. tom. ii. p. 1304, &c.* Spanish Mandeville, 1st disc. fol. 27. Notes on Creech's Lucretius, vol. ii. p. 539. The Spaniards were taken for such upon Cortez's conquest of the Mexicans, who had never before seen an horse ; and took the horses with their riders to be fierce monsters, half man, and half beast. *De Solis's History of the Conquest of Mexico*, by T. Townsend, Esq; 8vo edit. vol. i. p. 107.



(Thought he, this devil's full of malice,  
That on my late disasters rallies) 1370  
Condemn'd to Whipping, but declin'd it,  
By being more heroic-minded ;  
And at a Riding handled worse,  
With treats more slovenly and coarse ;  
Engag'd with Fiends in stubborn wars, 1375  
And hot disputes with Conjurers :  
And when th' hadst bravely won the day,  
Wast fain to steal thyself away.

(I see, thought he, this shameless Elf  
Would fain steal me too from myself, 1380  
That impudently dares to own  
What I have suffer'd for and done)  
And now but vent'ring to betray,  
Hast met with vengeance the same way.

Thought he, how does the devil know 1385  
What 'twas that I design'd to do ?  
His Office of Intelligence,  
His Oracles are ceas'd long since ;

ψ. 1379, 1380. *I see, thought he, this shameless Elf—  
Would fain steal me too from myself.*] Alluding probably  
to those lines in Horace, *Carm. lib. iv. ode 13, 18, 19, 20.*  
*ad Lycen Vetulam.*

— *Quid habes illius, illius,*

*Quæ spirabat amores,*

*Quæ me surpuerat mihi ?*

Ben Johnson (*Tale of a Tub*, act iii. scene 5.) makes Bull  
Puppy express himself in the same manner. "A lady, &c.  
"have plotted in the King's highway to steal me from  
"myself."

ψ. 1388. *His Oracles are ceas'd long since.*] The devil's  
oracles ceased at the coming of our Saviour. *Mansit tamen  
ejusmodi ratum præcipua autoritas et observatio, usque  
ad Christum æterni Dei filium, quo nato—cessarunt passim  
in orbe terrarum oracula: et quæcunque impiarum divi-  
nationum genera. Testibus Athanasio, Justino, Eusebio,*

And he knows nothing of the saints,  
 But what some treacherous spy acquaints. 1390  
 This is some pettifogging fiend,  
 Some under-door keeper's friend's friend,  
 That undertakes to understand,  
 And juggles at the second hand; 1  
 And now would pass for Spirit Po, 1395  
 And all men's dark concerns foreknow.  
 I think I need not fear him fort;  
*These rallying Devils do no hurt.*

*Lactantio, Plutarcho, Plinio, conticueruntque dæmōnes, et tanquam Rana Seriphia obmutuerunt. Wierii de præstigiis Daemonum, lib. i. cap. 8. Scot's Discovery of Witchcraft, book VIII. chap. iii. p. 160, &c. Dr Howel's Institution of General History, &c. vol. 1st, book IV. chap. ii. p. 843. Sir T. Browne's Vulgar Errors, book ii. chap. 12.*

ψ. 1395. *And now would pass for Spirit Po.*] Tom Po, an expression commonly used for an apparition: and it was usual to say, to one that seemed fearful of going into another room in the dark, you are afraid you shall meet Tom Po. (Dr B.) The rise of this might be from the Nayros, or soldiers of Malabar, in the Indies, of whom Linschoten (Voyages into the East and West Indies, chap. xlii. p. 78.) gives the following account: "As these Nayros go in the street, they used to cry *Po, Po*, which is to say, take heed, look to yourselves, or, I come, stand out of the way: for that the other sort of people called *Polyas*, that are no Nayros, may not once touch or trouble one of them: and therefore they always cry, because they should make them room, and know that they come; for if any of the *Polyas* should chance to touch their bodies, he may freely thrust him through, and no man ask him why he did it."

ψ. 1398. *These rallying Devils do no hurt.*] I have heard of a gentleman's servant, in other respects very stout and courageous, who was so fully possessed with the vulgar notion of spirits and hobgoblins, that he was almost afraid to be alone. A fellow servant, in order to scare him, got under the bed one night, and when he was almost asleep, raised up the bed with his back, which put the poor man into a terrible panic; but the other, by overacting his part,

With that he rouz'd his drooping heart,  
And hastily cry'd out, *What art?*

1400

*A Wretch, quoth he, whom want of grace  
Has brought to this unhappy place.*

I do believe thee, quoth the Knight,  
Thus far I'm sure th' art in the right;  
And know what 'tis that troubles thee,  
Better than thou hast guess'd of me.

1405

Thou art some paultry *blackguard spright*,  
Condemn'd to drudg'ry in the night;  
Thou hast no work to do in th' house,  
Nor *halfpenny to drop in shoes*:

1410

Without the raising of which sum,  
You dare not be so troublesome,  
To pinch the flatterns black and blue,  
For leaving you their work to do.

and overstraining himself, chanced to break wind backwards; upon which he, immediately suspecting who it was, cried out, "Nay, if thou art a f--ting devil, have at thee, "I am not afraid of thee;" and jumped out of bed, pulled the other from under it by the ears, and beat him heartily.

ψ. 1413. To pinch the flatterns black and blue.]

"When house or harth doth stuttish ly,

"I pinch the maids both black and blue,

"And from the bed, the bed-cloaths I

"Pull off, and lay them nak'd to view."

Old Ballad of Robin Goodfellow. Mr Peck's New Memoirs of Milton, §. vii. p. 25.

"She bid him then go to those caves,

"Where conjurers keep fairy slaves,

"Such sort of creatures as will baste ye

"A kitchen wench, for being nasty:

"But if she neatly scour her pewter,

"Give her the money that is due t' her."

Orpheus and Eurydice, by Dr King. Miscellanies, p. 379.  
See Shakespeare's Merry Wives of Windsor, vol. i. p. 301,  
302. Sheringham *de Gentis Anglorum Origine*, cap. xiv.  
p. 320. Archdeacon Parnell's Fairy Tale. Poems, 1737. p. 38.

This is your bus'ness, good Pug-Robbin, 1415  
 And your diversion, dull *dry bobbing*,  
 T' entice Fanatics in the dirt,  
 And wash 'em clean in ditches for't.  
 Of which conceit you are so proud,  
 At ev'ry jest you laugh aloud, 1420  
 As now you wou'd have done by me,  
 But that I barr'd your raillery.

Sir (quoth the Voice) y' are no such *sophi*,  
 As you wou'd have the world judge of ye.

The Fairies. Miscellaneous Poems, published by Mr D. Lewis, 1726. p. 172.

Y. 1415. *This is your business, good Pug-Robbin.*]

" From hag-bred Merlin's time have I

" Thus nightly revell'd to and fro;

" And for my pranks, men call me by

" The name of Robin Good-fellow."

See Old Ballad of Robin Good-fellow. Mr Peck's New Memoirs of Milton, p. 26. *Bibliotheca Pepysiana*. Old Ballads, vol. i. No. 80. See Tale of Robin Good-fellow, Warner's Albion's England, book XIV. chap. xci. p. 367. Heywood's Hierarchy of Angels, book ix. p. 574. See Puck, or Robin Good-fellow, Shakespeare's Midsummer's Night's Dream, act ii. vol. I. p. 90, 91. Anatomy of Melancholy, by Democritus Junior, p. 47. Spanish Mandeville, fol. 78. Preface to Dr Dee's Book of Spirits, sign. F. See Abstract of Scot's History of Witchcraft. British Librarian, No. 4. for April 1737. p. 218, 227. concerning Robin Good-fellow, a lusty cozening friar.

Y. 1423. — *y' are no such sophi.*] Alluding to the title commonly given the Kings of Persia. Prince Cantemir observes, (History of the Growth and Decay of the Othman Empire, p. 134.) " That Ishmael Shah, contemporary with " Bajazet, was founder of the present royal family of Persia; from him, who had the name of *Sophi*, or *Wise*, they " have retained the name of the *Great Sophi* to this day." Vide *Aul. Turcic. par. i. a Nic. Honger Koningshoff. Francofurt.* p. 119. Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. v. p. 381.

Sir John Chardin, who lived some time in Persia, in his account of the coronation of Solyman III. King of Persia,

If you design to weigh our talents, 1415  
 I' th' standard of your own false balance,  
 Or think it possible to know

Us ghosts, as well as we do you :  
 We who have been the everlasting  
 Companions of your drubs and basting, 1430  
 And never left you in contest,  
 With male or female, man or beast,  
 But prov'd as true t' ye, and entire,  
 In all adventures, as your Squire.

Quoth he, That may be said as true 1435  
 By th' idlest Pug of all your crew ;  
 For none cou'd have betray'd us worse  
 Than those allies of ours and yours.  
 But I have sent him for a token  
 To your low-country Hogen-Mogen, 1440  
 To whose infernal shores I hope  
 He'll swing like skippers in a rope.  
 And if y' have been more just to me  
 (As I am apt to think) than he,  
 I am afraid it is as true, 1445  
 What th' ill-affected say of you :

annexed to his travels into Persia, p. 48. folio, 1685. explaining the word *sasie*, says, " It will be more to the purpose to observe the mistakes of our writers upon the word *sasie* ; for they would have all the Kings of Persia to be called *sophies*. I cannot but laugh, (says he), when I find " in their writings the *Grand Sophy*, the *Sophy of Persia*, " and the *Sovereign Sophy* ; for the Kings of Persia are " neither called *Sophies* in general, nor in particular. " Could the Kings of Persia read our European characters, " and should see in the letters that are written to them from " some parts of Europe, the title which is given them of " *Sophy*, questionless they would spit upon them, and take " it as an affront."

Y. 1442. *He'll swing like skippers in a rope.*] A master of a ship is called a *skipper* in Holland.



Y' have spous'd the Covenant and Cause,  
By holding up your *cloven Paws*.

Sir, quoth the Voice, 'tis true I grant,  
We made, and took the covenant : 1450

But that no more concerns the cause,  
Than other per'ries do the laws,  
Which when they're prov'd in open court,  
Wear wooden peccadillo's for't.

And that's the reason cov'nanters 1455  
Hold up their hands, like rogues at bars.

I see, quoth Hudibras, from whence  
These scandals of the saints commence,

ψ. 1448. *By holding up your cloven Paws.*] The manner of taking the covenant was by lifting up their hands to heaven, for the maintainance and observation of the ends and principles expressed in it. See Hist. of Independency, printed in 1648, p. 128. The Independents were at length for setting aside the covenant, though some of them, jointly with the Presbyterians, had been concerned in making it, and had actually taken it, as this Independent Ghost acknowledges, which is the reason why our Presbyterian Knight urges the obligation of it to him; for this was their practice. See the History above quoted, which will give the reader a full light into this whole dialogue. Mr B.

ψ. 1450. *We made and took the Covenant.*] The author of *Mercurius Publicus* tells us of a wizard, (see No. xx. p. 319, 320.) who, upon his examination at Edinburgh, confessed that the devil had bound him to renounce his creed and his Christendome, (Christianity), but gave him leave to keep his Covenant. Mr Butler here gives the reason of it, That the devil had a principal hand in the making of it; and in canto ii. 1255, 1256. are the following lines:

“ Until th' had prov'd the devil author  
“ O th' Covenant, and cause his daughter.”

See Canto ii. 1245, 1246.

ψ. 1454. *Wear wooden peccadillo's for't.*] \*Peccadillo's were stiff pieces that went about the neck, and round about the shoulders to pin the band, wore by persons nice in dressing; but his wooden one is a pillory.

That are but natural effects  
Of Satan's malice, and his sects, 1460  
Those spider-faints, that hang by threads  
Spun out o' th' entrails of their heads.

Sir, quoth the Voice, that may as true  
And properly be said of you ;  
Whose talents may compare with either, 1465  
Or both the other put together.

For all the Independents do,  
Is only what you forc'd 'em to ;  
You, who are not content alone 1470  
With tricks to put the devil down,

But must have armies rais'd to back  
The gospel-work you undertake :  
As if artillery, and edge-tools,  
Were th' only engines to save souls.

While he, poor devil, has no pow'r 1475  
By force to run down and devour ;  
Has ne'er a classis, cannot sentence  
To stools, or poundage of repentance ;

ψ. 1477, 1478. — *cannot sentence—To stools, or poundage of repentance.*] i. e. doing penance in the Scotch way, upon the stool of repentance; or commuting the penance for a sum of money. The Scots (see Articles of War for the Expedition, Edinburgh, 1644. Pub. Libr. Camb. xix. 9. 3. art. 3.) ordain, " That common and ordinary swearing, " open profaning of the Lord's day, wronging of his minister, and other acts of that kind, shall not only be punished with loss of pay, and imprisonment, but the transgressors shall make their public repentance in the middle of " the congregation."

The author of a tract entitled, *A long-winded Lay Lecture*, 1647. p. 8. Royal Library, Cambridge, banters the Scottish Pennances in the following lines :

" Brethren, forgive me, now I do confess,  
" Yet to confession I'll not play the fool,  
" To bring mine arse upon the Scottish stool.

Is ty'd up only to design,  
 T' entice, and tempt, and undermine : 1480  
 In which you all his arts out-do,  
 And prove yourselves his betters too.  
 Hence 'tis possessions do less evil  
 Than mere temptations of the devil,  
 Which all the horrid'st actions done, 1485  
 Are charg'd in courts of law upon ;  
 Because, unless they help the elf,  
 He can do little of himself :  
 And therefore where he's best possess'd,  
 Acts most against his interest ; 1490  
 Surprizes none but those wh' have priests  
 To turn him out, and exorcists,  
 Supply'd with spiritual provision,  
 And magazines of ammunition :  
 With crosses, relics, crucifixes, 1495  
 Beads, pictures, rosaries, and pixes,  
 The tools of working out salvation  
 By mere mechanic operation ;

- " No, I'll not subject be to such an order,  
 " Which will e'er long invade our English border.  
 " Then they that will be slav'd after the sentence,  
 " Must sit upon the stool of their repentance ;  
 " But no sic Scottish, Presbyterian trick,  
 " Shall make my free-born heart with sorrow sick.  
 " Let those that have a mind, the most commend on't,  
 " On that and all the rest I'm Independent."

Y. 1483. *Hence 'tis possessions, &c.* \* Criminals, in their indictments, are charged with " not having the fear of God before their eyes, but being led by the instigation of the devil."

Y. 1492. — *and exorcists.* Exorcists made an order of the clergy in the third century. Bingham's Antiquities of the Christian Church, book iii. chap. 4. vol. II. p. 22. But Mr Butler designs to sneer the Popish exorcists, who pretend to lay or cast out evil spirits.

With holy water, like a sluice,  
 To overflow all avenues. 1500  
 But those wh' are utterly unarm'd,  
 T' oppose his entrance if he storm'd,  
 He never offers to surprize,  
 Although his falsest enemies;  
 But is content to be their drudge, 1505  
 And on their errands glad to trudge.  
 For where are all your forfeitures  
 Intrusted in safe hands, but ours?  
 Who are but jailors of the holes  
 And dungeons, where you clap up souls: 1510  
 Like under-keepers, turn the keys,  
 T' your *Mittimus* anathemas:  
 And never boggle to restore  
 The members you deliver o'er  
 Upon demand, with fairer justice 1515  
 Than all your covenanting trustees:  
 Unless to punish them the worse,  
 You put them in the secular pow'rs,  
 And pass their souls, as some demise  
 The same estate in mortgage twice: 1520

Y. 1516. *Than all your covenanting trustees.*] See 13th Carol. II. cap. 25. entitled, "An act for restoring all such advowsons, rectories impropriate, glebe-lands, and tythes to his Majesty's loyal subjects as were taken from them, and certain charges imposed on them upon their commissions for delinquency by the said usurpers." S. 1, 2, 3.

Y. 1519, 1520. — *as some demise—The same estate in mortgage twice.*] There was in those days a remarkable case of this kind; that of Mr Sherfield the recorder, and famous breaker of glass-windows in a church at Sarum: of whom Mr Garrard (in a Letter to the Earl of Strafford: see Earl of Strafford's Letters, 1739, vol. i. p. 206.) gives the following account: "Sherfield died some thousands in debt, and most wickedly cheated those that dealt with him for

When to a legal Utlegation  
 You turn your excommunication,  
 And for a groat unpaid that's due,  
 Distrain on Soul and Body too.

" that little land he had, a manour near Marlborough.  
 " When, as your Lordship knows, he was fined 500 l. in the  
 " Star-chamber, he then mortgaged his manour to Mr Ayres,  
 " a bencher in Lincoln's-Inn, who lent him upon it 2500 l.  
 " Upon his death, he challenging it, Audley, of the Court  
 " of Wards, shows a former mortgage to him; Sir Thomas  
 " Jarvis one more ancient than that; his wife before him  
 " challengeth it as her jointure; his eldest brother shows a  
 " conveyance before all these: in conclusion, on his death-  
 " bed, he commanded a servant to carry a letter, with a  
 " key sealed up in it, to Mr Noy, where was assigned in  
 " what box of his study at Lincoln's-Inn lay the conveyance  
 " of his estate; when it was found, that by deed bearing date  
 " before all these formerly mentioned, he had given all  
 " his estate to pious uses." *Sic finita est fabula* of Mr Sher-  
 field.

Y. 1521. *When to a legal Utlegation, &c.*] These saints  
 proceeded in a more formal and rigorous manner in their  
 outlawries than Mr Selden did in the following instance:  
 " The King of Spain (says he, Table-Talk, p. 89.) was  
 " outlawed in Westminster-Hall, I being of counsel against  
 " him: a merchant had recovered costs against him in a  
 " suit, which because he could not get, we advised to have  
 " him outlawed for not appearing, and so he was. As soon  
 " as Gondimer heard that, he presently sent the money,  
 " by reason, if his master had been outlawed, he could not  
 " have had the benefit of the law, which would have been  
 " very prejudicial, there being many suits then depending  
 " between the King of Spain, and our English merchants."  
 See the manner of outlawing. *Spelman's Glossar. sub voce*  
*Excommunication.*

Y. 1523, 1524. *And for a groat unpaid that's due,—Dis-  
 strain on Soul and Body too.*] A sneer upon the abuse of  
 excommunications by the Presbyterians, which were as ri-  
 gorous as those in the Romish church, of which I meet with  
 the following account: (*De Onere Banni. Gravamin. Cen-  
 tum Germanicæ Nationis, Grav. 24. Fascicul. Rer. Expe-  
 tender. et Fugientar. edit. 1690, p. 362.*) *Denique ob pe-*



Thought he, 'tis no mean part of civil 1525  
 State prudence, to cajole the devil;  
 And not to handle him too rough,  
 When h' has us in his cloven hoof.

'Tis true, (quoth he), that intercourse  
 Has pass'd between your friends and ours; 1530

That as you trust us, in our way,  
 To raise your members, and to lay,  
 We send you others of our own,  
 Denounc'd to hang themselves, or drown,  
 Or frighted with our oratory, 1535

To leap down headlong many a story:  
 Have us'd all means to propagate  
 Your mighty interests of state,  
 Laid out our spiritual gifts to further  
 Your great designs of rage and murder. 1540

For if the saints are nam'd from blood,  
 We onl' have made that title good.  
 And if it were but in our power,  
 We should not scruple to do more,  
 And not be half a soul behind 1545  
 Of all Dissenters of mankind.

Right, (quoth the Voice); and as I scorn  
 To be ungrateful, in return,

*tunia lucrive tantulam, aut alioqui res minimi pretii ad  
 internecionem usque animæ, corporis, honoris, atque rei  
 familiaris, contra divina humanaque jura perducuntur.*

Mr Baker says, (History of the Inquisition, ch. ix. p. 115.)  
 that the ceremony of a Popish excommunication is thus:  
 "When the Bishop pronounces the anathema, twelve priests  
 "must stand round him, and hold lighted candles in their  
 "hands, which they must throw down to the ground, and  
 "tread under their feet at the conclusion of the anathema,  
 "or excommunication."

ψ. 1541. For if the saints are nam'd from blood.] Vide  
 Reusneri Symbol. Apostolic. class. i. symbol. 62.

Of all those kind good offices,  
 I'll free you out of this distress, 1550  
 And set you down in safety, where  
 It is no time to tell you here.  
 The cock crows, and the morn grows on,  
 When 'tis decreed I must be gone:

y. 1553. *The cock crows, and the morn grows on.*] Alluding probably to the Ghost in Shakespeare's Hamlet.

"But even then the morning cock grew loud,

"And at the sound it sunk in haste away,

"And vanish'd from our sight."—

"But, soft, methinks I scent the morning air,

"Brief let me be."—— Ghost in Hamlet.

See more, act i. vol. VII. p. 230.

Virgil represents the ghost of Anchises thus concluding his instructions to Aeneas:

*Famque vale; torquet medios nox humida cursus,*

*Et me savus equis oriens afflavit anhelis.*

*Dixerat, et tenues fugit ceu fumus in auras.*

*Aeneid, l. 5.*

"The dewy night rolls on her middle course,

"And with his panting steeds the rising sun

"Severe hath breath'd upon me. Thus he said,

"And flew, like smoke, into the fleeting air."

Dr Trap, ver. 937. Mr B.

It is feigned, that Alectryon, which signifies a *cock*, was a youth beloved by Mars; and conscious of his adultery with Venus, he was accustomed to watch at the door, and give notice of any that approached: but falling at one time asleep, they were discovered by the Sun, and caught in a net by Vulcan; for which angry Mars converted him into a fowl with a crest on his crown, representing his helmet, who mindful of his former neglect, continually crows before the rising of the sun, lest he should take any one tardy. See other reasons for the cock's crowing at that time, Mr G. Sandys's notes upon Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, p. 217. edit. 1640. Notes upon Creech's *Lucretius*, vol. i. p. 368, 369. *Chartarii Imag. Deor. qui ab Antiquis colebantur*, p. 273. Dr Meric Casaubon, in his Preface to Dee's *Book of Spirits*, says, "One tells us, that when the cock croweth, the solemn meetings of witches are dissolved." And he thinks a reason may be, because of the crowing of the cock in the ge-

And if I leave you here till day, 1555  
You'll find it hard to get away.

With that the Spirit grop'd about,  
To find th' enchanted Hero out,  
And try'd with haste to lift him up;  
But found his forlorn Hope, his crup, 1560  
Unserviceable with kicks and blows,  
Receiv'd from harden'd-hearted foes.  
He thought to drag him by the heels,  
Like *Gresham Carts, with Legs for Wheels*:  
But Fear, that soonest cures those sores, 1565  
In danger of relapse to worse,

spel, when Saint Peter denied Christ. To this opinion, Mr Prior, in his poem, entitled *De la Fontaine's Hans Carvel* imitated, alludes:

"All's well—but, prithee, honest Hans,

"Says Satan, leave your complaisance.

"The truth is this, I cannot stay

"Flaring in sun-shine all the day:

"For *entre nous*, we hellish sprites

"Love more the fresco of the nights;

"And oftner our receipts convey

"In dreams than any other way."

See *Turkish Spy*, vol. VI. book ii. letter 14.

See the vulgar notion of spirits appearing only in the night bantered, Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, act iv. vol. VI. p. 193. *Midsummer Night's Dream*, act iii. vol. I. p. 121. act iv. p. 128, 129. *Spectator*, No. 110.

ψ. 1564. *Like Gresham Carts, with Legs for Wheels.*] Mr Ward, the learned professor of rhetoric in Gresham-College, communicated the following note by the worthy Dr Ducarel:

"March 4th, 1662-3. A scheme of a cart with legs that  
"moved, instead of wheels, was brought before the Royal  
"Society, and referred to the consideration of Mr Hooke,  
"who made a report of it at their next meeting; and up-  
"on the 18th of the same month, that report, with some  
"alterations, was ordered to be sent to the author of that  
"invention Mr Potter: and Mr Hooke was ordered to draw  
"up a full description of this cart; which, together with  
"the scheme, and the animadversions upon it, were to be

Came in t' assist him with its aid,  
 And up his sinking vessel weigh'd.  
 No sooner was he fit to trudge,  
 But both made ready to dislodge : 1570  
 The Spirit hors'd him, like a sack,  
 Upon the Vehicle, his back ;  
 And bore him headlong into th' hall,  
 With some few rubs against the wall.  
 Where finding out the postern lock'd, 1575  
 And th' Avenues as strongly block'd,  
 H' attack'd the window, storm'd the glass,  
 And in a moment gain'd the pass ;  
 Thro' which he dragg'd the worsted soldier's  
 Four-quarters out by th' head and shoulders ; 1580  
 And cautiously began to scout,  
 To find their fellow-cattle out.  
 Nor was it half a minute's quest,  
 Ere he retriev'd the champion's beast,  
 Ty'd to a pale, instead of rack, 1585  
 But ne'er a saddle on his back,

“ entered in their books.” The first Philosophical Transaction bears date March 6, 1664-5.

ψ. 1575.] Altered to *Th' outer postern*, edition 1710.

ψ. 1586. *But ne'er a saddle on his back.*] Those lines in Churchyard's Chips, p. 74. might be applied to our heroes under these circumstances :

“ Then could I call nea oestler knave,  
 “ Nor face him down ; my gear was gone,  
 “ And pickt away by hangers-on,  
 “ That follow geasts to ev'ry inn,  
 “ By shift some pairs of boets to win.  
 “ Such filchers have so great a lack,  
 “ They steal the saddle from the back,  
 “ But I that brought a saddle out,  
 “ Might ride now like a gentil lout ;  
 “ There was no thief to shrewd my shame,  
 “ But plain poor Tom to bear the blame.”

Nor pistols at the saddle-bow,  
 Convey'd away the Lord knows how.  
 He thought it was no time to stay,  
 And let the night too steal away ; 1590  
 But in a trice advanc'd the Knight  
 Upon the Bare Ridge, bolt upright ;  
 And groping out for Ralpho's jade,  
 He found the saddle too was stray'd ;  
 And in the place a lump of soap, 1595  
 On which he speedily leap'd up ;  
 And turning to the gate the rein,  
 He kick'd and cudgell'd on amain :  
 While Hudibras, with equal haste,  
 On both sides laid about as fast, 1600  
 And spurr'd as Jockies use, to break,  
 Or Padders to secure, a neck.  
 Where let us leave 'em for a time,  
 And to their Churches turn our Rhyme,  
 To hold forth their declining state, 1605  
 Which now come near an even rate.

Sancho Pancho's adventure was more humorous, who had  
 his ass stolen from under him when asleep, the thief clapping  
 four stakes under the four corners of his pack-saddle.  
 Don Quixote, part ii. vol. III. chap. iv. p. 35.

*End of Canto FIRST, Part THIRD.*



1871

1. The first of the year was a very dry one, and the crops were much injured by the drought. The wheat was particularly affected, and the yield was very small. The corn was also much injured, and the yield was very small. The other crops were also much injured, and the yield was very small.

2. The second of the year was a very wet one, and the crops were much injured by the rain. The wheat was particularly affected, and the yield was very small. The corn was also much injured, and the yield was very small. The other crops were also much injured, and the yield was very small.

3. The third of the year was a very dry one, and the crops were much injured by the drought. The wheat was particularly affected, and the yield was very small. The corn was also much injured, and the yield was very small. The other crops were also much injured, and the yield was very small.

4. The fourth of the year was a very wet one, and the crops were much injured by the rain. The wheat was particularly affected, and the yield was very small. The corn was also much injured, and the yield was very small. The other crops were also much injured, and the yield was very small.

5. The fifth of the year was a very dry one, and the crops were much injured by the drought. The wheat was particularly affected, and the yield was very small. The corn was also much injured, and the yield was very small. The other crops were also much injured, and the yield was very small.

6. The sixth of the year was a very wet one, and the crops were much injured by the rain. The wheat was particularly affected, and the yield was very small. The corn was also much injured, and the yield was very small. The other crops were also much injured, and the yield was very small.

7. The seventh of the year was a very dry one, and the crops were much injured by the drought. The wheat was particularly affected, and the yield was very small. The corn was also much injured, and the yield was very small. The other crops were also much injured, and the yield was very small.

8. The eighth of the year was a very wet one, and the crops were much injured by the rain. The wheat was particularly affected, and the yield was very small. The corn was also much injured, and the yield was very small. The other crops were also much injured, and the yield was very small.

9. The ninth of the year was a very dry one, and the crops were much injured by the drought. The wheat was particularly affected, and the yield was very small. The corn was also much injured, and the yield was very small. The other crops were also much injured, and the yield was very small.

10. The tenth of the year was a very wet one, and the crops were much injured by the rain. The wheat was particularly affected, and the yield was very small. The corn was also much injured, and the yield was very small. The other crops were also much injured, and the yield was very small.

# HUDIBRAS.

## CANTO SECOND.

### THE ARGUMENT.

*The saints engage in fierce contests,  
About their carnal interests;  
To share their sacrilegious preys,  
According to their rates of grace;  
Their various frenzies to reform,  
When Cromwell left them in a storm :  
Till in th' effigy of Rumps, the rabble  
Burns all their grandees of the cabal.*

THE learned write, an Insect Breeze  
Is but a mungrel prince of Bées,  
That falls before a storm on cows,  
And stings the founders of his house ;

This *Canto* is entirely independent of the adventures of Hudibras and Ralpho ; neither of our heroes make their appearance : other characters are introduced, and a new vein of satire is exhibited. The Poet steps out of his road, and skips from the time wherein these adventures happened, to Cromwell's death, and from thence to the dissolution of the Rump-parliament. This conduct is allowable in a satirist, whose privilege it is to ramble where-ever he pleases, and to stigmatise vice, faction, and rebellion, where, and whenever he meets with them. He is not tied down to the observance of unity of action, time, or place ; though he has hitherto had a regard to such decorums : but now, and here only he claims the privilege of a satirist, and deviates from order, time, and uniformity, and deserts his principal actors : he purposely sends them out of the way, that we may

From whose corrupted flesh that breed  
Of vermin did at first proceed.

5

attend to a lively representation of the principles and politics of Presbyterians, Independents, and Republicans, upon the dawning of the Restoration. He sets before us a full view of the treachery and underminings of each faction: and sure it is with pleasure we see the fears and commotions they were in upon the happy declension of their tyrannical power and government. All these occurrences are fully and faithfully related in this Canto; and the several facts are warranted by history. Mr B.

Y. 1, 2. *The learned write, an Insect Breeze—Is but a mungrel prince of Bees, &c.* \* “An Insect Breeze—breezes “often bring along with them great quantities of insects, “which some are of opinion are generated from viscous “exhalations in the air; but our author makes them proceed from a cow’s dung, and afterwards become a plague “to that whence it received its original.” He alludes probably to the method of repairing the bee kind, mentioned by Virgil, *Georgic* iv. 283, &c.

*Tempus et Arcadii memoranda inventa magistri  
Pandere—*

Thus translated by Mr Dryden :

“ ’Tis time to touch the precepts of an art,  
“ Th’ Arcadian master did of old impart:  
“ And how he stock’d his empty hives again,  
“ Renew’d with putrid gore of oxen slain.—  
“ First in a place, by nature close, they build  
“ A narrow flooring, gutter’d, wall’d, and til’d :  
“ In this four windows are contriv’d, that strike,  
“ To the four winds oppos’d, their beams oblique.  
“ A steer of two years-old they take, whose head  
“ Now first with burnish’d horns begins to spread :  
“ They stop his nostrils, while he strives in vain  
“ To breathe free air, and struggles with his pain.  
“ Knock’d down he dies, his bowels bruish’d within,  
“ Betray no wound on his unbroken skin :  
“ Extended thus on his obscene abode,  
“ They leave the beast ; but first sweet flow’rs are strow’d  
“ Beneath his body, broken boughs and thyme,  
“ And pleasing cassia just renew’d in prime.  
“ This must be done, e’er spring makes equal day,  
“ When western winds on curling waters play :

So, ere the storm of war broke out,  
 Religion spawn'd a various rout,  
 Of petulant capricious sects,  
 The maggots of corrupted texts,

10

"E'er painted meads produce their flow'ry crops,  
 "Or swallows twitter on the chimney-tops.  
 "The tainted blood in this close prison pent,  
 "Begins to boil, and through the bones ferment.  
 "Then, wondrous to behold, new creatures rise,  
 "A moving mass at first, and short of thighs;  
 "Till shooting out with legs, and imp'd with wings,  
 "The grubs proceed to bees with pointed stings;  
 "And more and more affecting air, they try  
 "Their tender pinions, and begin to fly:  
 "At length like summer storms from spreading clouds,  
 "They burst at once, and pour impetuous floods;  
 "Or flights of arrows from the Parthian bows,  
 "When from afar they gaul embattl'd foes;  
 "With such a tempest through the skies they steer,  
 "And such a form the winged squadrons bear."

See an account of blasts, Lord Bacon's Natural History, cent. vii. sect. 696. p. 143. Dr Baynard's History of Cold Baths, part ii. p. 143. Morton's Hist. of Northamptonshire, p. 331. Bradley's Account of Blights from Insects. New Improvement of Planting and Gardening, part 3. ch. v. p. 216, &c. *ψ. 8. Religion spawn'd a various rout.*] The author of A Tale of a Tub (p. 201.) probably alludes to this; where, speaking of Jack, he observes, "That he was a person of great design and improvement in devotion; having introduced a new deity, who has since met with a vast number of worshippers, by some called *Babel*, by some *Chaos*, who had an ancient temple of Gothic structure upon Salisbury plain." See an account of the great variety of sects during those times. Tatler, No. 256.

"Take—and his club, and Smec and his tub,  
 "Or any sect old or new;  
 "The devil's in the pack, if choice you can lack,  
 "We are fourscore religions strong."

The Rebellion. Collection of Loyal Songs, reprinted 1731, vol. I. No. 67. p. 176.

*ψ. 10. The maggots of corrupted texts.*] The Independents were literally so, having corrupted that text, Acts vi.

That first run all religion down,  
 And after ev'ry swarm its own.  
 For as the Persian Magi once,  
 Upon their Mothers got their Sons,

3. to give the people a right to chuse their own pastors. *Wherefore, Brethren, look ye out from among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost, whom ye (instead of we, ὡς καλῶσθε αὐτοὺς) may appoint over this business.* Mr Field has this forgery in several of his editions of the Bible; and, among the rest, in his beautiful folio edition of 1659-60; and octavo edition 1661.: and I have been informed, that he was the first printer of this forgery, and had 1500 l. for it. See Mr Wotton's Visitation-sermon at Newport Pagnel, Bucks, Sept. 7. 1706. p. 7.

"They a bold power o'er sacred Scriptures take,

"Blot out some clauses, and some new ones make."

Mr Cowley's Puritan and Papist, p. 3.

And they are described by Mr Dryden, (*Religio Laici*, 4th edit. 1701. p. 76.) in the following lines:

"Study and pains were now no more their care,

"Texts were explain'd by fasting and by prayer:

"This was the fruit the private Spirit brought,

"Occasion'd by great zeal, and little thought:

"While crowds unlearn'd, with rude devotion warm,

"About the sacred viands buz and swarm:

"The fly-blown text creates a crawling brood,

"And turns to maggots what was meant for food.

"A thousand daily sects rise up and die,

"A thousand more the perish'd race supply;

"So all the use we make of Heaven's discover'd will,

"Is not to have it, but to use it ill.

"The danger's much the same on several shelves,

"If others wreck us, or we wreck ourselves."

ψ. 13. *For as the Persian, &c.*] \* The Magi were priests and philosophers among the Persians, entrusted with the government both civil and ecclesiastic, much addicted to the observation of the stars. Zoroaster is reported to be their first author. They had this custom amongst them, to preserve and continue their families, by incestuous copulation with their own mothers. Some are of opinion, that the three wise men that came out of the East to worship our Saviour were some of these.



That were incapable t' enjoy 15  
 That empire any other way :  
 So Presbyter begot the other  
 Upon the *Good old Cause*, his mother,  
 Then bore them like the devil's dam,  
 Whose Son and Husband are the same. 20  
 And yet no nat'ral tie of blood,  
 Nor int'rest for the common good,  
 Cou'd, when their profits interfer'd,  
 Get quarter for each other's beard.

Y. 17, 18. *So Presbyter begot the other,—Upon the Good old Cause, his mother.*] The author of the dialogue between Mr Guthry and Mr Giffan, 1661, p. 21, sets forth their relation in the following manner:

Giff. " They say they are of nearer relation to you,  
 " Your younger brothers, and the wiser too."

Guth. " I confess they did follow our pattern a long  
 " time, but it was with a design to spoil our copy; and they  
 " supplanted us by the same artifice we used, a greater  
 " seeming austerity of life and conversation."

The Presbyterians and Independents were as near of kin in a spiritual sense, as Archer, who pretended to be an Irishman, and Foigard, an Irish Popish priest, were in a natural one.

Archer. " Upon my soulvation dere—ish joy—But my  
 " Cushin Mackshane, will you not put a remembrance  
 " upon me?"

Foigard. " Mackshane! By Saint Patrick, that ish my  
 " name shure enough. [*Aside.*] The devil hang you joy,—  
 " By fat acquaintance are you my cussen?"

Archer. " O, de devil hang yourself, joy, you know we  
 " were little boys togeder upon the school; and your foster  
 " moder's son was married upon my nurse's chifter, joy,  
 " and so we are Irish cussens." Farquhar's *Beaux Stragem*, act iv. p. 65.

Y. 24. *Get quarter for each other's beard.*] The Presbyterians, when uppermost, were very unwilling to grant a toleration to the Independents, and other sectaries, as is observed in the Preface. Mr Calamy, upon demand What they would do with Anabaptists, Antinomians, &c. said,

For when they thriv'd they never fadg'd, 25  
 But only by the ears engag'd :  
 Like dogs that snarl about a bone,  
 And play together when they've none :  
 As by their truest characters,  
 Their constant actions, plainly appears. 30  
 Rebellion now began, for lack  
 Of Zeal and Plunder, to grow slack ;  
 The Cause and Covenant to lessen,  
 And Providence to be out of season :  
 For now there was no more to purchase 35  
 O' th' King's revenue, and the Church's,

" They would not meddle with their consciences, but with  
 " their bodies and estates." (Arraignment of Persecution,  
 p. 16.) For further proof, I beg leave to refer the reader  
 to Sir Roger L'Estrange's Dissenters Sayings, first and se-  
 cond Parts, under the article *Toleration*; and to a tract,  
 entitled, A Century of eminent presbyterian Preachers, pu-  
 blished 1723, p. 66, &c. Simple Cobler of Agawam in Ame-  
 rica, &c. p. 9.

ψ. 26, 27, 28. *But only by the ears engag'd*:—*Like dogs  
 that snarl about a bone,—And play together when they've  
 none.*] The Jews tell us of two dogs that were very fierce the  
 one against the other; one of them is assaulted by a wolf,  
 and thereupon the other dog resolves to help him against  
 the wolf that made the assault. *Adagia Hebraica*. Ray's  
 Proverbs, 2d edition, p. 406. L'Estrange's Fables, part ii.  
 fable 16.

ψ. 35, 36. *For now there was no more to purchase—  
 O' th' King's revenue, and the Church's.*] An ordinance  
 was passed, 1649, for removing obstructions in the sale of the  
 King's, Queen's, and Prince's lands; and several manours  
 and lands were appointed the soldiers for their arrears,  
 whose debentures were now stated by a committee of the  
 army; the common soldiers purchasing in the manner of  
 a corporation by regiments. The frequency of these de-  
 bentures (which the old officers and reformadoes sold at  
 half a crown in the pound) drew in several citizens to bar-  
 gain with the trustees, named in the ordinance for the sale  
 of such lands and hereditaments. (See Heath's Chronicle,

25 But all divided, shar'd and gone,  
 That us'd to urge the brethren on :  
 Which forc'd the stubborn'st for the Cause,  
 To cross the cudgels to the laws, 40  
 That what by breaking them th' had gain'd,  
 30 By their support might be maintain'd ;  
 Like thieves, that in a Hemp-plot ly,  
 Secur'd against the *Hue-and-Cry* :  
 For Presbyter and Independent 45  
 Were now turn'd Plaintiff and Defendent ;  
 Laid out their apostolic functions,  
 On carnal Orders and Injunctions ;  
 And all their precious gifts and graces  
 On Outlawries and *Scire facias* ; 50  
 At Michael's term had many a trial,  
 Worse than the Dragon and St Michael,  
 Where thousands fell, in shape of fees,  
 Into the *bottomless Abyss*.  
 For when, like brethren, and like friends, 55  
 They came to share their dividends,  
 And ev'ry partner to possess  
 His church and state joint-purchases,

p. 256.) ; and the ordinance, (Scobel's Collections, part II. chap. xlii. page 51.) ; and for removing obstructions in the sale of the lands of Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, (*id. ib.* chap. xxxv. p. 44.) There had been nineteen ordinances to the same purpose, in the years 1646, 1647, 1648. (See the table annexed to the Ordinance, 20th of November, 1648.) And yet, notwithstanding, Whitehall and Somerset-House were not disposed of May 16. 1659 : for all that time it was resolved by the Council of State, that these, with their appurtenances, should be exposed to sale, for paying the great arrears due to the army. (*Mercurius Politicus*, No. 567. p. 448.) And Wednesday, the 6th of July 1659, they ordered the sale of Hampton-Court, with the meadows, parks, and deer. *Ibid.* No 577. p. 576.

ψ. 51. *At Michael's term*, &c.] \* St Michael, an archangel, mentioned in St Jude's Epistle, ver. 9.

In which the ablest saint, and best,  
 Was nam'd in trust by all the rest, 60  
 To pay their money; and, instead  
 Of ev'ry brother, pass the deed;  
 He strait converted all his gifts  
 To pious frauds, and holy shifts;  
 And settled all the other shares 65  
 Upon his *outward Man* and's Heirs;  
 Held all they claim'd as forfeit lands,  
 Deliver'd up into his hands,  
 And pass'd upon his conscience,  
 By Pre-intail of Providence; 70  
 Impeach'd the rest for Reprobates,  
 That had no titles to estates,  
 But by their spiritual attaints  
 Degraded from the right of Saints.  
 This b'ing reveal'd, they now begun 75  
 With law and conscience to fall on:  
 And laid about as hot and brain-sick  
 As th' Utter Barrister of Swanswick;  
 Engag'd with money-bags, as bold  
 As men with sand-bags did of old; 80

Y. 77, 78. *And laid about as hot and brain-sick—As th' Utter Barrister of Swanswick.*] \* William Prynne of Lincoln's-Inn, Esq; born at Swanwick, who styled himself *Utter Barrister*, a very warm person, and voluminous writer; and after the restoration, keeper of the records in the Tower. See W. Pryn. Wood's *Athenæ Oxoniæ*. vol. ii. col. 311. edit. 1692.; and the meaning of *Utter Barrister*, Manley's Interpreter, Jacob's Law Dictionary, and Chambers's *Cyclopædia*.

Y. 80. *As men with sand-bags did of old.*] When the combat was demanded in a legal way by knights and gentlemen, it was fought with sword and lance; and when by yeomen, with sand-bags fastened to the end of a truncheon. (Mr W.) To this custom Ben Johnson alludes, (in his *Underwood*, in the King's Entertainment, 1633. vol. i. p. 276.)

That brought the lawyers in more fees  
Than all unsanctify'd trustees :

Till he who had no more to show

I' th' case, receiv'd the overthrow ;

Or both sides having had the worst,

They parted as they met at first.

Poor Presbyter was now reduc'd,  
Secluded, and cashier'd, and chous'd !

" Go, Captain Stub, lead on, and show

" What house you come on, by the blow

" You give Sir Quintin, and the cuff

" You scape o' th' sandbag's counter-buff."

See the combat between Horner and Peter Thump, with Mr Warburton's note, Shakespeare's Second Part of K. Henry VI. act ii. vol. IV. p. 233. And the proposal of the Squire of the wood to Sancho Pancha, to fight with a couple of linen bags, with half a dozen smooth stones in each bag. Don Quixote, vol. III. chap. xiv. p. 128.

Y. 87. *Poor Presbyter was now reduc'd.*] The Independents, and other sectaries spawned from them, being supported by Oliver Cromwell, and the army, soon deprived the Presbyterians of all the power the Lords and Commons had begun to give them. This is alluded to ver. 1141, &c.

Mr Fry, a member of parliament, (see his tract, entitled, *The Accuser shamed*, &c. 1648. p. 12.), says, " That rigid  
" Sir John Presbyter was desperately sick—and that he would  
" as soon put a sword in the hands of a madman, as into  
" the hands of a High-flying Presbyterian."

And in the Last Will and Testament of Sir John Presbyter (printed in the year of jubilee, 1647, p. 7.) are the following lines:

" Here lyes Jack Presbyter, void of all pity,

" Who ruin'd the country, and fooled the city ;

" He turn'd preaching to prating, and telling of lies,

" Caus'd jarrs and dissentions in all families ;

" He invented new oaths, rebellion to raise,

" Deceiving the Commons, whilst on them he preys :

" He made a new creed, despised the old,

" King, state, and religion, by him bought and sold.

" He four years consulted, and yet could not tell

" The Parliament, the way Christ went into hell :

VOL. III.

L



Turn'd out, and excommunicate  
 From all affairs of church and state; 90  
 Reform'd t' a reformado faint,  
 And glad to turn itinerant,  
 To stroll and teach from town to town,  
 And those he had taught up, teach down,  
 And make those uses serve agen, 95  
 Against the new-enlighten'd men :

" Resolved therein he never would be ;

" Therefore, in great haste, he's gone thither to see."

Y. 88. *Secluded.*] Alluding to the seclusion of the Presbyterian members from the House, in order to the King's trial.

Y. 91. *Reform'd t' a reformado faint,*] See *Reformado*, Bailey's Dictionary.

Y. 92. *And glad to turn itinerant.*] " April 12, 1649, it " was referred to a committee to consider of a way how to " raise pensions and allowances out of Dean and Chapters " lands, to maintain supernumerary ministers, who should " be authorized to go up and down, compassing the earth, " and adulterating other men's pulpits and congregations." *History of Independency*, part ii. p. 156.

Hugh Peters (in a tract, entitled, *A Word to the Army, and two Words to the Kingdom*, 1647, page 11. Public Library, Cambridge, xix. 7, 20.) advises, " That two or three " Itinerary Preachers may be sent by the State into every " county: and a committee of godly men, to send out men " of honesty, holiness and parts, to all counties, recom- " mended from their test." For a further account of these Itinerants, see *Vavasor Powell*. Wood's *Athena Oxoniensis*. 1st edit. part ii. col. 343, 344, &c.

Y. 94. *And those he had taught up, teach down.*] The Independents urged the very same doctrines against the Presbyterians, which the Presbyterians had before used against the Bishops, such as " the No Necessity of Ordination by " the hands of the Presbytery:" and that " Church Govern- " ment was committed to the Community of the Faithful." Which doctrines, and others of the like nature, Presbyterians had preached up, in order to pull down the Bishops: but when the Independents used those arguments against the government they would have set up, they preached them down again. Dr B.

As fit, as when at first they were  
 Reveal'd against the Cavalier :  
 Damn Anabaptist and Fanatic,  
 As pat as Popish, and Prelatic ; 100  
 And with as little variation,  
 To serve for any sect i' th' nation.  
 The *Good Old Cause*, which some believe  
 To be the Dev'l that tempted Eve  
 With knowledge, and does still invite 105  
 The world to mischief with New Light,  
 Had store of money in her purse,  
 When he took her for *bett'r* or *worse*;  
 But now was grown deform'd and poor,  
 And fit to be turn'd out of door. 110

The Independents, (whose first station  
 Was in the *Rear of Reformation*,  
 A mungrel kind of Church-Dragoons,  
 That serv'd for horse and foot at once,  
 And in the saddle of one steed 115  
 The Saracen and Christian rid ;

ψ. 103. *The Good Old Cause*.] The Covenant and Prote-  
 station, for which they first pretended to take up arms.

ψ. 111. *The Independents*.] See the best account of that  
 sect, in the History of Independency, by Clement Walker, Esq;  
 a zealous Presbyterian, and secluded Member. The first part  
 of his book was published in the year 1648. The second part,  
 entitled, *Anarchia Anglicana*, 1649. By Theodorus Verax.  
 Mr Walker being discovered to be the author by Cromwell,  
 was committed prisoner to the Tower of London, the 13th  
 of November, 1649, where he wrote the third part, entitled,  
 The High Court of Justice : or, Cromwell's Bloody Slaughter-  
 house, published in the year 1651. After the Restoration,  
 a fourth part was added by T.M. Esq; and all four publish-  
 ed together in a thick quarto, 1660-1. And Bailewick's Rout-  
 ing of the Independent Army, 4to.

ψ. 112, 115, 116. *Was in the Rear of Reformation*,—*And*  
*in the saddle of one steed*—*The Saracen and Christian*  
*rid*.] See an account of the rise of the Independents in the

Were free of ev'ry spiritual order,  
To preach, and fight, and pray, and murder :)

year 1643, where Independency is compared to Mahometism. Erhard's History of England, vol. ii. p. 435.

Mr Walker (History of Independency, part i. p. 27.) says, " The Independents are a composition of Jew, Christian, " and Turk."

Y. 117. *Were free of ev'ry sp'ritual order,*] The Romish Orders here alluded to are the Jesuits, the Knights of Malta, the Fathers of the Oratory, and the Dominicans, who are at the head of the Inquisition. Mr W.

It was so in Mr Butler's time; but Mr Baker observes, (History of the Inquisition, chap. vii. p. 48.), " That this " office is not as formerly committed to the Predicants, or " Dominican Friars: they began to employ in it the secular " clergy, who were skilful in the decrees and laws; till at " last the whole power gradually devolved on them: so that " now the Dominican Friars have no part in it, though the " Inquisitors oftentimes use their assistance in judging of " propositions; and they are employed as counsellors in the " Holy Office."

Y. 118. *To preach, and fight, &c.*] The officers and soldiers among the Independents got into pulpits, and preached and prayed, as well as fought: Oliver Cromwell was famed for a preacher, and has a sermon in print, entitled, Cromwell's Learned, Devout, and Conscientious Exercise, held at Sir Peter Temple's in Lincoln's-Inn Fields, upon Romans xiii. 1. *penes me*. in which are the following flowers of rhetoric: " Dearly beloved brethren and sisters, it is " true this text is a malignant one; the wicked and un- " godly have abused it very much; but, thanks be to God, " it was to their own ruin. p. 1.

" But now that I spoke of kings, the question is, whether by the *higher powers*, are meant kings or commoners? Truly, beloved, it is a very great question among those that are learned: for may not every one, that can read, observe, that Paul speaks in the plural number, *higher powers*: now, had he meant subjection to a King, he would have said, *Let every soul be subject to the higher power*, if he had meant but one man; but by this you see he meant more than one: he bids us *be subject to the higher powers*, that is, the Council of State, the House of Commons, and the army." *Ibid.* p. 3.

No sooner got the start to lurch,  
 Both disciplines, of War and Church, 120  
 And providence enough to run  
 The chief commanders of 'em down,  
 But carry'd on the war against  
 The common enemy o' th' faints,  
 And in a while prevail'd so far, 125  
 To win of them the game of war,  
 And be at liberty once more,  
 T' attack themselves as th' had before.

When in the humble petition there was inserted an article against public Preachers being Members of Parliament, Oliver Cromwell excepted against it expressly, "Because he" (he said) was one, and diverse officers of the army, by "whom much good had been done—and therefore desired "they would explain their article." Heath's Chronicle, page 408.

Ibid. —and pray, and murder.] Sir Roger L'Elstrange observes (Reflection upon Poggius fable, of the Husband, Wife, and ghostly Father, part i. fab. 357.) upon the pretended faints of those times, "That they did not set one "step in the whole train of this iniquity, without seeking "the Lord first, and going up to inquire of the Lord, according to the cant of those days; which was no other "than to make God the author of sin, and to impute the "blackest practices of hell to the inspiration of the Holy "Ghost."

It was with this pretext of *seeking the Lord in prayer*, that Cromwell, Ireton, Harrison, and others of the Regicides, cajoled Gen. Fairfax, who was determined to rescue the King from execution, giving orders to have it speedily done: and when they had notice that it was over, they persuaded the General that this was a full return of prayer; and God having so manifested his pleasure, they ought to acquiesce in it. Perenchief's Life of King Charles, prefixed to his Works, p. 91.

"So the late faints of blessed memory,

"Cut-throats, in godly pure sincerity;

"So they, with lifted hands, and eyes devout,

"Said grace, and carv'd a slaughter'd monarch out."

Oldham's second Satire upon the Jesuits, p. 26. edit. 1703.

For now there was no foe in arms,  
 T' unite their factions with alarms, 130  
 But all reduc'd and overcome,  
 Except their worst, *themselves at Home* :  
 Wh' had compass'd all they pray'd, and swore,  
 And fought, and preach'd, and plunder'd for ;  
 Subdu'd the nation, church and state, 135  
 And all things but their *Laws and Hate*.  
 But when they came to treat and transact,  
 And share the spoil of all th' had ransackt,  
 To botch up what they had torn and rent,  
 Religion and the Government, 140  
 They meet no sooner, but prepar'd  
 To pull down all the war had spar'd :  
 Agreed in nothing, but t' *abolish*,  
*Subvert, extirpate, and demolish*.  
 For knaves and fools b'ing near of kin, 145  
 As Dutch Boors are t' a Sooterkin,  
 Both parties join'd to do their best,  
 To damn the public interest;  
 And herded only in consults,  
 To put by one another's bolts; 150  
 T' out-cant the Babylonian labourers,  
 At ail their dialects of jabberers,

ψ. 136. *And all things but their Laws and Hate.*] i. e. The laws of the land, and the hatred of the people.

ψ. 146. *As Dutch Boors are t' a Sooterkin.*] \* It is reported of the Dutch women, that making so great use of stoves, and often putting them under their petticoats, they engender a kind of ugly monster, which is called a *Sooterkin*. See Cleveland's Character of a London Diurnal, Works, 1677. p. 103.

ψ. 151, 152. *T' outcant the Babylonian labourers,—At all their dialects of jabberers.*] Dubartas thus describes the confusion at Babel: (Divine Weeks and Works, p. 418.)

“ This said, as soon confusedly did bound

“ Thro' all the work I wote not what strange sound,



And tug at both ends of the saw,  
 To tear down government and law.  
 For as two cheats, that play one game,  
 Are both defeated of their aim ;  
 So those who play a *Game of State*,  
 And only cavil in debate,  
 Although there's nothing lost nor won,  
 The public bus'ness is undone,  
 Which still the longer 'tis in doing,  
 Becomes the surer way to ruin.

This when the Royalists perceiv'd,  
 (Who to their faith as firmly cleav'd,  
 And own'd the right they had paid down  
 So dearly for, *The Church and Crown*,)  
 Th' united constanter, and fided  
 The more, the more their foes divided.  
 For though out-number'd, overthrown,  
 And by the fate of war run down ;  
 Their duty never was defeated,  
 Nor from their oaths and faith retreated:  
*For Loyalty is still the same*  
*Whether it win or lose the Game;*

" A jangling noise not much unlike the rumours  
 " Of Bacchus' swains, amidst their drunken humours:  
 " Some speak between their teeth, some in the nose,  
 " Some in the throat their words do ill dispose;  
 " Some howl, some hollow, some do strut and strain,  
 " Each hath his gibberish, and all strive in vain  
 " To find again their known beloved tongue,  
 " That with their milk they suckt in cradle young."

Y. 163. *This when the Royalists perceiv'd.*] What a lasting monument of fame has our Poet rais'd to the Royalists ! what merited praise does he bestow on their unshaken faith and loyalty ! how happily does he applaud their constancy and sufferings ! If any thing can be a compensation to those of that party who met with unworthy disregard and neglect after the restoration, it must be this never-dying eulogy : Butler, alas, was one of that unfortunate number ! Mr B.

*True as the Dial to the Sun,* 175  
*Although it be not shin'd upon.*  
 But when these brethren in evil,  
 Their Adversaries, and the Devil,  
 Began once more to shew them play,  
 And hopes, at least, to have a day; 180  
 They rally'd in parades of woods,  
 And unfrequented solitudes:  
 Conven'd at midnight in out-houses,  
 T' appoint *New-Rising Rendezvous*,  
 And with a pertinacy unmatched, 185  
 For new recruits of danger watch'd.  
 No sooner was one blow diverted,  
 But up another party started,  
 And, as if Nature too in haste,  
 To furnish our supplies as fast, 190  
 Before her time had turn'd destruction,  
 T' a new and numerous production;  
 No sooner those were overcome,  
 But up rose others in their room,  
 That, like the Christian faith, increast, 195  
 The more, the more they were suppress'd:  
 Whom neither Chains, nor Transportation,  
 Proscription, Sale, or Confiscation,  
 Nor all the desperate events  
 Of former try'd experiments, 200

y. 175. *True as the Dial to the Sun, &c.*] The writer of the Preface to the *Wicked Plots* of the pretended Saints, &c. compares Mr Fowlis, the author, to Little Loyal John in the epitaph:

“ For the King, Church, and blood-royal,

“ He went as true as any sun-dial.”

y. 197. *Whom neither Chains, nor Transportation, &c.*] All the methods here mentioned were made use of to dispirit the Cavaliers; but to no purpose.

Nor wounds cou'd terrify, nor mangling,  
To leave off Loyalty and Dangling,

¶. 201, 202. *Nor wounds cou'd terrify, nor mangling,—  
To leave off Loyalty and Dangling.*] The brave spirit of  
loyalty was not to be suppressed by the most barbarous and  
inhuman usage. There are several remarkable instances  
upon record: as that of the gallant Marquis of Montrose,  
(see *Impartial Examination of Mr Neal's Fourth Volume of  
the History of the Puritans*, p. 67, &c.); the loyal Mr Ge-  
rard, and Mr Vowel, in 1654, (*Echard's History of England*,  
vol. ii. p. 761.); of Mr Penruddock, Grove, and others, who  
suffered for their loyalty at Exeter, 1654-5, (*Echard*, vol. ii.  
p. 774.); of Captain Reynolds, who had been of the King's  
party, and when he was going to be turned off the ladder,  
cried, *God bless King Charles; vive le Roy*, (*Whitelock's  
Memorials*, 2d edit. p. 435.); of Dalgelly, one of Montrose's  
party, who being sentenced to be beheaded, and being  
brought to the scaffold, ran and kissed it; and without any  
speech or ceremony laid down his head upon the block, and  
was beheaded, (*Whitelock*, *ibid.* p. 459.); of the brave Sir  
Robert Spotwood, (*Bishop Wishart's History of Montrose*,  
p. 173.); of Mr Courtney, and Mr Portman, who were com-  
mitted to the Tower the beginning of February 1657, for  
dispersing among the soldiers what were then called *sediti-  
ous* books and pamphlets, (*Mercurius Politicus*, No. 402.  
p. 302.); of Sir Henry Slingsby, and Dr Hewet, *Mercurius  
Politicus*, No. 419. p. 583, &c. *Echard's Hist. of England*,  
vol. ii. p. 818.

Nor ought the loyalty of the six counties of North-Wales  
to be passed over in silence; who never addressed or peti-  
tioned during the usurpation, (*Mercurius Publicus*, No. 24.  
p. 369.); nor the common soldier mentioned in the Oxford  
Diurnal, first Week, p. 6. (*Impartial Examination of Mr  
Neal's Third Volume of the History of the Puritans*, p. 203.)  
See more in the story of the impertinent Sheriff, L'Estrange's  
Fables, part ii. fab. 265. Mr Butler, or Pryn, (see *Mola  
Asinaria*, Butler's Remains), speaking of the gallant beha-  
viour of the Loyalists, says, "Other nations would have ea-  
" nonized for martyrs, and erected statues after their death  
" to the memory of some of our compatriots, whom ye have  
" barbarously defaced and mangled, yet alive, for no other  
" motive but their undaunted zeal."

Nor death, (with all his bones) affright  
 From vent'ring to maintain the right,  
 From staking life and fortune down 205  
 'Gainst all together, for the crown :  
 But kept the title of their cause  
 From Forfeiture, like claims in laws :  
 And proud no prosp'rous usurpation  
 Can ever settle on the nation : 210  
 Until, in spight of force and treason,  
 They put their loy'ly in possession,  
 And, by their constancy and faith,  
 Destroy'd the mighty men of Gath.  
 Toss'd in a furious Hurricane, 215  
 Did Oliver give up his Reign;

ψ. 208. *From Forfeiture, like claims in law.*] See *Continual Claims*, Coke's Institutes, first part, lib. iii. sect. 414. fol. 250. 10th edition.

ψ. 215, 216. *Toss'd in a furious Hurricane,—Did Oliver give up his Reign.*] \* At Oliver's death was a most furious tempest, such as had not been known in the memory of man, or hardly ever recorded to have been in this nation. See Echard's History of England, vol. ii. It is observed in a tract entitled *No Fool to the old Fool*, (L'Estrange's Apology, p. 93.) "That Oliver, after a long course of treason, murder, sacrilege, perjury, rapine, &c. finished his accursed life in agony and fury, and without any mark of true repentance." See Thurloe's Canting Letter, occasioned by his death, to Henry Cromwell, (Thurloe's State-papers, vol. vii. p. 372, &c.) Though most of our historians mention the hurricane at his death, yet few take notice of the storm in the northern counties that day the House of Peers ordered the digging up his carcase, with other regicides, (see *Mercurius Publicus*, No. li. p. 816.) The author of *The Parley between the Ghost of the late Protector and the King of Sweden in Hell*, 1660, p. 19. merrily observes, "That he was even so turbulent and seditious there, that he was chained, by way of punishment, in the general pissing-place, next the court-door, with a strict charge, that nobody that made water thereabouts, should piss any where but against his body."

And was believ'd, as well by saints,  
As mortal men and miscreants,  
To founder in the Stygian ferry;  
Until he was retriev'd by Sterry,

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ψ. 219. *To founder in the Stygian ferry;*]

"Old Oliver's gone to the dogs.

"Oh, no! I do mistake,

"He's gone in a wherry

"Over the ferry

"Is call'd the *Stygian Lake*.

"But Cerberus, that great porter,

"Did read him such a lecture,

"That made him to roar

"When he was come on shore,

"For being Lord Protector."

Collection of Loyal Songs, reprinted 1731, No. 3. p. 6.

ψ. 220. *Until he was retriev'd by Sterry.*] The news of Oliver's death being brought to those who were met to pray for him, Mr Peter Sterry stood up, and desired them not to be troubled; "For (said he) this is good news, because, if he was of use to the people of God when he was amongst us, he will be much more so now, being ascended into heaven at the right-hand of Jesus Christ, there to intercede for us, and to be mindful of us upon all occasions." (Echard's History of England, vol. ii. p. 825. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 612. See a tract entitled, *No Fool to the old Fool*, published with L'Estrange's Apology, p. 93. *Phoenix Britannicus*, p. 154.) Dr South makes mention of an Independent Divine, (Sermons, vol. I. serm. iii. p. 102.) who, when Oliver was sick, of which sickness he died, declared, "That God revealed to him, that he should recover, and live thirty years longer; for that God had raised him up for a work which could not be done in a less time: but Oliver's death being published two days after, the said Divine publicly in his prayers expostulated with God the defeat of his prophecy in these words: "Thou hast lied unto us; yea, thou hast lied unto us."

So familiar were those wretches with God Almighty, that Dr Echard observes of one of them, (see his Observation upon the Answer to the Enquiry into the Grounds of the Contempt of the Clergy, p. 106.) "That he pretended to have got such an interest in Christ, and such an exact



Who in a false erroneous dream  
 Mistook the New Jerusalem,  
 Prophanely for th' Apocryphal  
 False Heaven at the *End o' th' Hall*;  
 Whither it was decreed by fate  
 His precious reliques to translate.  
 So Romulus was seen before  
 B' as orthodox a Senator;  
 From whose divine illumination  
 He stole the Pagan revelation.

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Next him his son and *Heir apparent*  
 Succeeded, though a *lame Vicegerent*;

" knowledge of affairs above, that he could tell the people  
 " that he had just before received an express from Jesus,  
 " upon such a business, and that the ink was scarce dry up-  
 " on the paper."

ψ. 224. *False Heaven, &c.*] \* After the Restoration Oliver's body was dug up, and his head set up at the farther end of Westminster-Hall, near which place there is an house of entertainment, which is commonly known by the name of *heaven*.

ψ. 227. *So Romulus, &c.*] \* A Roman Senator, whose name was Proculus, and much beloved by Romulus, made oath before the Senate, that this Prince appeared to him after his death, and predicted the future grandeur of that city, promising to be protector of it; and expressly charged him that he should be adored there under the name of *Quirinus*; and he had his temple on Mount Quirinal.

ψ. 231, 232. *Next him his son and Heir apparent—Succeeded, though a lame Vicegerent.*] \* Oliver's eldest son Richard was by him, before his death, declared his successor; and, by order of the Privy Council, proclaimed Lord Protector, and received the compliments of congratulation and condolence, at the same time, from the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen; and addresses were presented to him from all parts of the nation, promising to stand by him with their lives and fortunes. He summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster, which recognized him Lord Protector; yet notwithstanding, Fleetwood, Desborough, and their partisans, managed affairs so, that he was obliged to

Who first laid by the Parliament,  
The only Crutch on which *he leant*;

resign. Mr Butler expresses himself to the same purpose, in his tale of the Cobler and Vicar of Bray. Remains.

"What's worse, old Noll is marching off,

"And Dick, his heir-apparent,

"Succeeds him in the government,

"A very lame vicegerent:

"He'll reign but little time, poor tool,

"But sink beneath the state;

"That will not fail to ride the fool

"'Bove common horseman's weight."

And another poet speaks of him, and his brother Henry, in the following manner:

"But young Dick and Harry, not his heirs, but his brats,

"As if they had less wit and grace than gib-cats,

"Slunk from their commands, like a brace of drown'd rats."

The Rump Carbonado'd. Loyal Songs, vol. ii. p. 122.

What opinion the world had of him, we learn from Lord Clarendon's account of his visit *incog.* to the Prince of Conti, at Pezenas, who received him civilly, as he did all strangers, and particularly the English: and, after a few words, (not knowing who he was), "The Prince began to discourse of the affairs of England, and asked many questions concerning the King, and whether all men were quiet, and submitted obediently to him? which the other answered according to the truth. Well, (said the Prince), Oliver, though he was a traitor, and a villain, was a brave fellow, had great parts, great courage, and was worthy to command; but for that Richard, that coxcomb, coquin, poltroon, he was surely the basest fellow alive. What is become of that fool? how is it possible he could be such a sot! He answered, That he was betrayed by those he most trusted, and had been most obliged to his father. So, being weary of his visit, he quickly took his leave, and next morning left the town, out of fear that the Prince might know that he was that very fool and coxcomb he had mentioned so kindly: and two days after the Prince did come to know who he was that he had treated so well." Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iii. p. 519.

And then sunk underneath the State, 235  
That rode him above Horseman's Weight.

And now the Saints began their Reign,  
For which th' had yearn'd so long in vain,  
And felt such bowel-hankerings,  
To see an *Empire all of Kings*, 240  
Deliver'd from th' Egyptian Awe  
Of justice, government, and law,  
And free t' erect what *spiritual Cantons*  
Should be reveal'd, or *Gospel Hans-Towns*,

ψ. 233, 234. *Who first laid by the Parliament,—The only Crutch on which he leant.*] See this in some measure disproved, Life of Secretary Thurloe, prefixed to his Letters, p. 17. See a song intitled, Second Part of Knaves out of Doors. Collection of Loyal Songs, reprinted 1731, vol. ii. No. 17. p. 69. *Arrie-Verse*; or, The Second Martyrdom of the Rump, sect. iv. vol. II. p. 92.

ψ. 237. *And now the Saints began their Reign, &c.*] A sneer upon the Committee of Safety; amongst whom was Sir Henry Vane, who (as Lord Clarendon observes, vol. III. book xvi. p. 544.) “was a perfect enthusiast, and without doubt did believe himself inspired; which so far corrupted his reason and understanding, that he did, at the same time believe he was the person deputed to reign over the saints upon earth for a thousand years.” See an account of him in Baxter's Life, in folio, p. 74. who mentions a sect called, from him, *Vanists*.

ψ. 241, 242. *Deliver'd from th' Egyptian Awe—Of justice, government, and law.*] Dr James Young observes (*Siddrophel Vapulans*, p. 13. from Mr Pryn's True and Perfect Narrative, &c. p. 60.) “That two Jesuitical prognosticators, Lilly and Culpepper, were so confident (*anno 1652*), of the total subversion of the law and gospel ministry, that in their scurrilous prognostications they predicted the downfall of both; and in 1654, they foretold that the law should be pulled down to the ground, the great charter, and all our liberties destroyed, as not suiting with Englishmen in these blessed times; that the crabtree of the law should be pulled up by the roots, and grow no more, there being no reason now we should be governed by them.”

To edify upon the ruins 245  
 Of John of Leyden's *old Out-goings*;  
 Who for a weather-cock hung up,  
 Upon their Mother Church's top,  
 Was made a type, by Providence,  
 Of all their revelations since; 250  
 And now fulfill'd by his successors,  
 Who equally mistook their measures :  
 For when they came to shape the Model,  
 Not one could fit another's noddle;  
 But found their lights and gifts more wide 255  
 From fadging, than th' unsanctify'd ;  
 While ev'ry individual brother  
 Strove hand to fist against another,  
 And still the maddest, and most crack't,  
 Were found the busiest to transact : 260  
 For though most hands dispatch apace,  
 And *make light Work* (the proverb says) ;

Ψ. 244. —Gospel Hans-Towns.] The Germans border-  
 ing on the sea being anciently infested by Barbarians, for  
 their better defence entered into a mutual league, and  
 gave themselves the name of *Hans-Towns* ; either from the  
 sea on which they bordered, or from their faith which they  
 had plighted to one another with their own hand, (*Hansæ*) ;  
 or from the same word which, in their language, signified  
 a league, society, or association. Bailey.

Ψ. 245, 246, 247, 248. *To edify upon the ruins—Of John  
 of Leyden's old Outgoings;—Who for a weather-cock hung  
 up,—Upon their Mother Church's top.*] John Buckold, Be-  
 cold, or Bokelfon, an Anabaptist tailor (some say a shoe-  
 maker, or cobbler) of Leyden, mock king of Munster, was  
 hung with two of his rebel-associates (all in iron cages) up-  
 on the highest tower of the city, called *St Lambert's*. Vide  
*Johann. Sleidan. Comment. lib. x. p. 207, 208. Franco-  
 furti ad Mœnuni, 1568. Chronic. Chronicor. Ecclesiastic.  
 lib. ii. p. 553. Mezeray's History of France, part ii. p. 598.  
 Dupin's Eccles. Hist. of the 16th Century, p. 182. Abridg-*

Yet many different intellects  
 Are found t' have contrary effects;  
 And many heads t' obstruct intrigues, 263  
 As slowest insects have most legs.

Some were for setting up a king,  
 But all the rest for no such thing,  
 Unless King Jesus: others tamper'd  
 For Fleetwood, Desborough and Lambert; 270

ment of Gerard Brandt's History of the Reformation of the Low Countries, vol. i. p. 43. Alexander Ross's View of all Religions, 6th ed. p. 411. Mission's New Voyage to Italy, &c. vol. i. p. 17.

" Then John of Leyden, Noll, and all  
 " Their goblin ghostly train,  
 " Brave rebel saints, triumphant shall  
 " Begin the second reign."

Sir John Birkenhead Reviv'd, p. 36.

Y. 267, 268. *Some were for setting up a king,  
 But all the rest for no such thing,*]

" Some for a king, and some for none;  
 " And some have hankerings  
 " To mend the commonwealth, and make  
 " An empire all of kings."

Tale of the Cobbler and Vicar of Bray. Butler's Remains, p. 153.

Harry Martyn, in his speech, in the debate, Whether a King, or no King? said, " That if they must have a King, " they had rather have had the last than any gentleman in " England; he found no fault in his person, but office." Walker's History of Independency, part ii. p. 150.

Y. 269. *Unless King Jesus, &c.*] Alluding to the Fifth-Monarchy Men, who had formed a plot to dethrone Cromwell, and set up King Jesus. Echard's Hist. of England, vol. ii. p. 815.

" Caesar, not Christ, the ancient Jews  
 " Paid tribute of their treasure;  
 " Our Jews no king but Christ will chuse,  
 " And rob, and cry down Caesar."

*Mercurius Pragmaticus*, No. vi. May 9, 1648.



Some for the Rump, and some more crafty,  
For Agitators and the Safety;

"But seven years of a thousand 'tis

"Our saints shall rulers be;

"For they shall lose, in years of bliss,

"Nine hundred ninety-three."

*Mercurius Pragmaticus*, No. 8. See Sir J. Birkenhead  
Reviv'd, p. 37.

"But Overton most with wonder doth seize us,

"By securing of Hull, for no less than Christ Jesus:

"Hoping (as it by the story appears)

"To be there his lieutenant for one thousand years."

Archie-Verse, ft. 25. Collection of Loyal Songs, reprinted  
1731. vol. ii. No. 20.

The Fifth-Monarchy Men published their tenets before  
Cromwell arrived at his pitch of grandeur, as appears from  
the two following tracts, (*penes me.*)

The Sounding of the last Trumpet; or, Several Visions  
declaring the universal Overturning, and rooting up of all  
earthly Powers in England; with many other Things fore-  
told, which shall come to pass in this Year 1650. Lately  
shewed unto George Foster, who was commanded to print  
them. Printed in the Year 1650.

Sion's approaching Glory; or, The great and glorious  
Day of the Lord King Jesus his Appearing; before whom  
all the Kings of the Nations must fall, and never rise again:  
accurately described, according to the Prophets, Christ, and  
his Apostles, in Three-and-forty Sections.—By James Freeze,  
Merchant. London, printed by W. Larnar, 1652. In 1654,  
John Spittlehouse published A Vindication of the Fifth-Mo-  
narchy Men; in Answer to a Speech of O. Cromwell's in  
the Painted-Chamber, Sept. 4. 1654. Mr Bridges, in his  
Dedication prefixed to a Thanksgiving Sermon before the  
Commons, May 17. 1648, (see Century of eminent Presbyte-  
rian Preachers, p. 76.) exhorts them, "to do what in them  
lies to bring the blessed King Jesus into his Throne of  
"inheritance." See a further account of their principles  
from their printed book entitled, The Standard. *Mercurius*  
*Politicus*, No. 358. p. 7742, &c. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii.  
p. 604. Thurloe's State-Papers, vol. vi. p. 154. Simple  
Cobler of Agawam in America, p. 19. Alexander Ross's  
View of all Religions in the World, p. 260, 261.

Some for the gospel, and Massacres  
Of Spiritual Affidavit-makers,

Y. 269, 270. — *Others tamper'd—For Fleetwood,*] Fleetwood was a Lieutenant General, he married Ireton's widow, Oliver Cromwell's eldest daughter, was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland by Cromwell, Major General of diverse counties, one of Oliver's upper house: his salary supposed to be 6600 *l.* a year. Second Narrative of the late Parliament, so called, 1658. p. 14. *penes me.*

Y. 270. — *Desborough,*] A yeoman of 60 or 70 *l. per annum.* (Some say a plowman.) In a tract entitled, A Brief Account of the Meeting, Proceedings and Exit of the Committee of Safety, London, 1659. (p. 9. *penes me.*) Bennet, speaking to Desborough, says,—“When your Lordship was a plowman, and wore high shoon—Ha! how the Lord raiseth some men, and depresseth others!”

“Janizary Desborough then look'd pale,

“For, said he, if this rump prevail,

“’Twill blow me back to my old plow-tail,

“Which no body can deny.”

The Rump. A Song. Col. of Loyal Songs, vol. ii. p. 29.

Desborough married Cromwell's sister, cast away his spade, and took up a sword, and was made a Colonel,—was instrumental in raising Cromwell to the Protectorship: upon which he was made one of his Council, a General at sea, and Major General of diverse counties of the West; and was one of Oliver's Upper House. (Second Narrative of the Parliament so called, p. 15.) The writer of the First Narrative of the Parliament so called, observes, (p. 9.) that his annual income was 3236 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*

Mr Butler (in his Parable of the Lion and Fox: Remains) girds him severely in the following lines:

“Says Desborough, for that his name was,

“Who afterwards grew very famous;

“And as his neighbours all can tell,

“I' th' civil wars was Colonel:

“Nay some there be that will not stick

“To say he was so politic;

“Or, if you will, so great a rogue,

“That when rebellion was in vogue,

“That he among the rest was one

“That doom'd the King to martyrdom.”

That swore to any human regence

275

*Oaths of Suprem'cy and Allegiance;*

See his name in the list of the Regicides, Walker's History of Independency, part ii. p. 103.; and a further account of him, Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. p. 823.

Ibid. ——— *and Lambert.*] Lambard in the first edition 1678, altered 1684. He was one of the Rump Generals, and a principal opposer of General Monk, in the restoration of King Charles II. (Echard's History of England, vol. ii. p. 872.) The writer of the Narrative of the late Parliament so called, (1657, p. 9.) observes, That Major General Lambert, as one of Oliver's Council, had 1000 *l. per annum*, which, with his other places, in all amounted to 6512 *l. 3 s. 4 d.*

§. 272. *For Agitators, &c.*] In 1647 (see Echard's History of England, vol. ii. p. 569.) the army made choice of a set number of officers, which they called, *the General Council of Officers*; and the common soldiers made choice of three or four of each regiment, mostly corporals and serjeants, who were called by the name of *Agitators*, and were to be a House of Commons to the Council of Officers: these drew up a Declaration, that they should not be disbanded till their arrears were paid, and a full provision made for liberty of conscience.

Mr Butler, in a ludicrous speech which he makes for the Earl of Pembroke (Remains, page 266.) has the following words: "I perceive your Lordships think better of me, and would acquit me, if I was not charged by the Agitators. — 'Sdeath, what's that! who ever heard the word before! I understand Classical, Provincial, Congregational, National; but for Agitator, it may be, for aught I know, a knave not worth threepence. If Agitators cut noblemen's throats, you will find the devil has been an Agitator."

Some of the positions of the Agitators here follow: "That all inns of court and chancery, all courts of justice now erected, as well civil as ecclesiastical, with the common, civil, canon and statute laws, formerly in force, and all corporations, tenures, copyholds, rents and services, with all titles and degrees of honour, nobility, and gentry, elevating one free subject above another, may be totally abolished, as clogs, snares and grievances to a free-born people, and inconsistent with that universal parity and

Yea, though the ablest swearing saint,  
That vouch'd the bulls o' th' Covenant :

" equal condition which ought to be among freemen, and  
" opposite to the communion of saints.

" That all the lands and estates of deans, chapters, pre-  
" bends, universities, colleges, halls, free-schools, cities,  
" corporations, ministers glebe-lands, and so much of the  
" lands of the nobility, gentry, and rich citizens and yeo-  
" men, as exceeds the sum of 300 *l. per annum*, and all  
" the revenues of the Crown, belonging to the King or his  
" children, be equally divided between the officers and sol-  
" diers, and the army, to satisfy their arrears, and recom-  
" pence their good services."

The Total and Final Demands, already made by, and to  
be expected from the Agitators and Army.—London, printed  
1647, p. 6. Public Library, Cambridge, xix. 9. 3.

See Hampton Court Conspiracy, with the Downfall of the  
Agitators and Levellers, who would admit no distinction of  
Birth or Title, and out of the Lands of the whole Kingdom  
in general, would proportion an equal Estate to every man  
in particular. Printed 1647. Pub. Lib. Cambr.

The author (p. 6.) defines an " Agitator to be an arch  
" tub traitor of this age, whom the devil lately tossed out  
" of the bottomless pit, to drive on his designs, prick prin-  
" cipalities, and torment the times." See Mr Peck's Notes  
on the Baptists. New Memoirs of Milton's Life, p. 419.

Ibid. — *and the Safety.*] Committee of Safety, a set of  
men who took upon them the government, upon displacing  
the Rump a second time: their number amounted to twenty-  
three, which, though filled up with men of all parties,  
Royalists excepted, yet was so craftily composed, that the  
balance was sufficiently secured to those of the army faction.  
Echard, vol. ii. p. 854: See their names, History of Inde-  
pendency, part iv. p. 69, 70.

" So here's a Committee of Safety, compounded  
" Of knave, and of fool, of Papist and Roundhead;  
" On basis of treason and tyranny grounded." }

The Committee of Safety, Collection of Loyal Songs. Re-  
printed 1731, vol. ii. p. 148.

They are bantered by the author of a tract entitled, A  
Parley between the Ghosts of the Protector and the King  
of Sweden in Hell. (P. 10.) " Fanatic Committee of Safety,  
" (saith the Protector), there's a word that requires another

Others for pulling down th' high-places,  
 Of Synods and Provincial Classes, 280  
 That us'd to make such hostile inroads  
 Upon the Saints, like bloody Nimrods :  
 Some for fulfilling prophecies,  
 And th' extirpation of th' Excise ;  
 And some against th' Egyptian Bondage 285  
 Of Holy-days, and *paying Poundage* :  
 Some for the cutting down of Groves,  
 And rectifying bakers' loaves :

" Calvin's industry to make a comment on it: and then  
 " naming them again, he fell into such a laughter that he  
 " waked the great devil, who was lying upon a bench hard  
 " by, something drunkish. What's the matter? cries Beel-  
 " zebub. What's the matter! cries the Protector; Can you  
 " ly sleeping there, and hear us talk of a Fanatic Committee  
 " of Safety? Cudsbobs, quoth the Devil, this England is  
 " a plaguy country; Africa itself never bred such monsters;  
 " and upon that he began to call for his guard; but the  
 " King of Sweden soon prevented his fear, by the relation  
 " he made of their being turned out of commission."

ψ. 283. *Some for fulfilling prophecies.*] i. e. Carrying  
 their arms against the Pope, the Whore of Babylon. Mr W.

ψ. 285, 286. *And some against th' Egyptian Bondage—Of  
 Holy-days.*] There was an ordinance to abolish Festivals,  
*die Martis*, 8 Junii 1647, throughout England and Wales;  
 and every second Tuesday in the month to be allowed to  
 scholars, apprentices, and other servants, for their recrea-  
 tion. This was confirmed by another ordinance of Lords  
 and Commons, *die Veneris*, 11 Junii 1647; and *Die Luna*,  
 28 Junii 1647. an additional ordinance was made concern-  
 ing days of recreation allowed unto scholars, apprentices,  
 and other servants, occasioned by the apprentices petition,  
 and propositions presented unto the Honourable House of  
 Commons,—June 22, 1647.

ψ. 287. —*cutting down of Groves.*] i. e. Demolishing  
 the churches. (Mr W.) Alluding to the old superstition  
 of consecrating groves to idols. See Notes upon the second  
 book of Mr Cowley's  *Davideis*, Works, vol. i. edition 1707,  
 page 385.



And some for finding out expedients  
Against the slav'ry of obedience. 290

Some were for Gospel Ministers,  
And some for Red-coat Seculars,  
As men most fit t' hold forth the word,  
And wield *the one, and th' other sword.*

Some were for carrying on the work 295  
Against the Pope, and some the Turk;  
Some for engaging to suppress

The *Camisado of Surplices*,  
That gifts and dispensations hinder'd,  
And turn'd to th' *Outward Man the Inward*; 300

*Y.* 291, 292. *Some were for Gospel Ministers,—And some for Red-coat Seculars*] See an account of the six Militant Preachers at White-hall with Oliver Cromwell, Walker's *History of Independency*, part ii. p. 153.; and of Major General Vernon's preaching, Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 328.; and note upon Cornet Joyce's Sermon, Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. vii. p. 8, 18.

*Y.* 297, 298. *Some for engaging to suppress—The Camisado of Surplices.*] Their antipathy to the surplice is thus expressed by a writer of those times: "Have not they so long persecuted the poor surplice in most churches, that they have scarce left any man a shirt in the whole parish." (*The Judgment of an old Grand Juryman in Oxfordshire*, concerning the breaking of the late treaty at Uxbridge. Oxford, 1645. p. 4. Public Library, Cambridge, xix. 9. 3.) Mr Warburton observes, That when the soldiers, in a night-expedition, put their shirts over their armour, in order to be distinguished, it is called a *Camisade*: these Sectaries were for suppressing the Episcopal meetings, then held secretly, which the Author, with high humour, calls a *Camisade*.

The word is taken from the Latin word *Camisia*, or the Greek *Καμισιον*, which signifies a priest's white garment, or what we now call a *Surplice*. See Mr Hearne's *Glossary to Peter Langtoft's Chronicle*, p. 597. *Skinneri Etymolog. Linguae Anglicanae, sub voce Camisade*. Table to Barret's *Theorike and Practike of Modern Wars*, 1598.

More proper for the cloudy night  
 Of Popery, than Gospel Light.  
 Others were for abolishing  
 That tool of matrimony, a Ring,  
 With which th' un sanctify'd Bridegroom 305  
 Is marry'd only to a Thumb;

ψ. 303, 304. *Others were for abolishing  
 That tool of matrimony, a Ring.]*

- " Because the wedding ring's a fashion old,
- " And signifies by th' purity of gold,
- " The purity requir'd i' th' marry'd pair;
- " And by th' rotundity the union fair
- " Which ought to be between them endless, for
- " No other reason we that use abhor.

A Long-winded Lay-Lecture, published 1647, p. 5.

- " They will not hear of wedding-rings,
- " For to be us'd in their marriage;
- " But say they're superstitious things,
- " And do religion much disparage:
- " They are but vain, and things profane,
- " Wherefore now no wit bespeaks them,
- " So to be ty'd unto the bride,
- " But do it as the Spirit moves them."

A Curtain Lecture. Loyal Songs, vol. i. No. 15.

See the objections of the Dissenters against the Ring in Marriage, answered by Dr Comber, *Offices of Matrimony, &c.* folio edition, part iv. §. 3. Dr Nicholls upon the Office of Matrimony. Mr Wheatley's Rational Illustration, fol. edit. p. 407, &c.

ψ. 306. *Is marry'd only to a Thumb.]* Thumb is put for the rhyme's sake, for the fourth finger of the left hand; the ring being always put upon that finger by the bridegroom. The reason given by Aulus Gellius, (*Noct. Attic. lib. x. cap. 10.*) that there is a small nerve in that finger which communicates directly with the heart; for which reason both Greeks and Romans wore it upon that finger.

The original of which custom is given by another author in the following words: *Alcadas X. Rex Assyriorum regnavit annis 33, et anno ejus 11. Sparta condita est a filio Phoronei, qui invenit usum annulorum; et in quarto digito poni anulum debere dixit, quia ab illo vena pertingit ad*

(As wife as ringing of a pig,  
 That us'd to break up ground, and dig)  
 The Bride to nothing but her will,  
 That nulls the after-marriage still. 310  
 Some were for th' utter extirpation  
 Of Linsey-Woolsey in the nation;  
 And some against all idolizing  
 The Cross in Shop-books, or Baptizing :

*cor. Gobelini Persone, Cosmodromii, atas 111. Meibom i  
 Rer. Germanic. tom. i. p. 89.*

*Pectoris, et digito pignus fortasse dedisti, &c.*

*Juvenal Sat. vi. 27, 28.*

" They say, thy hair the curling art is taught,

" The wedding-ring perhaps already bought :

" A sober man, like thee, to change his life !

" What fury wou'd possess thee with a wife ?"

*Mr Dryden.*

See a curious dissertation upon the ring-finger, Sir Thomas Browne's *Vulgar Errors*, book iv. ch. 4. Mr Wheatley's *Rational Illustration*, p. 409. Dr Wotton's *Reflection's upon Ancient and Modern Learning*, ch. x. p. 133.

Y. 308. *That us'd to.] That is to—edit. 1678. That uses to—edit. 1684, 1689, 1694, 1700, 1704. Altered 1710, as it stands here.*

Y. 309. *The Bride to nothing but her will.] The thing this quibble turns upon is this, the first response the bride makes in the marriage ceremony is, I will. Mr W.*

Shakespeare alludes probably to the same thing, *Love's Labour Lost*, act i. vol. II. p. 111.) in Boiet's words to Biron, when he enquired after Rosaline.

*Biron.* " Is she wedded, or no ?

*Boiet.* " To her will, Sir, or so."

Y. 311, 312. *Some were for th' utter extirpation—Of Linsey-Woolsey in the nation.] Some were for Judaizing, or observing some of the laws peculiar to that people; linsey-woolsey being forbidden by the Law. See Deut. xxii. 11. Mr W.*

" That we may have an incorrupt religion, without guile.  
 " ful mixture; not a linsey-woolsey religion; all new-born  
 " babes will desire word-milk, sermon-milk, without guile,  
 " without adulterating." Thomas Hall's *Fast-Sermon*, July 27. 1642, p. 5.

Others, to make all things recant      315  
 The Christian, or firname of saint;  
 And force all Churches, Streets, and Towns,  
 The Holy Title to renounce.

ψ. 313, 314. *And some against all idolizing—The crosses in Shop-Books.*] Some were for using a sponge to the public debts. (Mr W.) “Scriveners were commanded to shew “their shop-books, that notice might be taken who were “guilty of having money in their purses, that the fattest “and fullest might be sequestred for delinquents.” (Walker’s History of Independency, part ii. p. 189.) See their unreasonable antipathy to all sorts of crosses exposed, from a tract, entitled, A Dialogue between the Cross in Cheap, and Charing-Cross. Impartial Examination of Mr Neal’s third Volume of the History of the Puritans, p. 81.

Sir John Birkenhead likewise banters those Precisians: “An act for removing the alphabet cross from the children’s primer, and the cross from off the Speaker’s mace, “and for adding St Andrew’s Cross to St George’s in the “State’s-Arms.” Paul’s Church-yard, cent. II. class vi. No. 139.

“Resolved, &c. That all Crosses are due to the State, and “therefore all coin that is stamped with that superstitious “kind of idolatry, is confiscated, by modern laws, to the “devil’s melting pan.” Paul’s Church-yard, cent. iii. class XI. No. xl. p. 21.

ψ. 317, 318. *And force all Churches, Streets, and Towns, —The Holy Title to renounce.*] Churches, parishes, and even the Apostles, were unfainted in the Mayoralty of the famous Alderman Pennington, and continued so to the year 1660. (See Strype’s Survey of London, vol. II. book v. p. 7.) The malice and rage of both Roundheads and Cavaliers ran high upon this particular; of which we have a merry instance in the case of Sir Roger de Coverley, which I cannot forbear transcribing: “That worthy knight, being then “but a stripling, had occasion to enquire the way to St “Ann’s lane, upon which the person, whom he spoke to, “instead of answering his question, called him a young “Popish cur, and asked him, who made Ann a saint? The “boy being in some confusion, enquired of the next he “met, which was the way to Ann’s Lane? But was called “a prick-ear’d cur for his pains; and, instead of being

Some 'gainst a Third Estate of Souls,  
And bringing down the price of coals: 310

" shewn the way, was told, that she had been a saint before he was born, and would be one after he was hanged. Upon which (says Sir Roger) I did not think fit to repeat the former question, but going into every lane of the neighbourhood, asked what they called the name of that lane: by which ingenious artifice, he found out the place he enquired after, without giving offence to any party." Spectator, No. 125. Mr B.

The Mayor of Colchester banished, one of that town for a Malignant and a Cavalier, in the year 1643, whose name was Parsons, and gave this learned reason for this exemplary piece of justice, That it was an ominous name. *Mercurius Rusticus*, No. xvi. p. 196.

§. 319. Some 'gainst a Third Estate of Souls,] I suppose he means the place which, in the New Testament, is called *adns*, and is there plainly distinguished from *Gehenna*, though both are translated by the English word *Hell*. Some persons, in Mr Butler's time, began to write of this place as different both from heaven and hell; and as the receptacle of all souls, good and bad, until the resurrection. Bishop Bull has two sermons printed on this Middle State. See likewise Sir Peter King's Critical History of the Apostles' Creed, upon the Article of Christ's Descent into Hell. Dr B.

§. 320. And bringing down the price of coals.] Though Mr Butler says in another place,

" Those that write in rhyme still make  
" The one verse for the other's sake;  
" The one for sense, and one for rhyme,  
" I think sufficient at a time;"

I cannot but think, that this is either designed as a sneer upon Sir Arthur Hazlerigg, who, when governor of Newcastle upon Tyne, without any public authority, presumed to lay a tax of four shillings a chaldron upon coals, which was estimated to amount to 50,000 l. a year. (Walker's History of Independency, part ii. p. 151.) And the author of a tract entitled, No Fool to the old Fool, L'Estrange's Apology, p. 95. calls him, *the Episcopal coal-merchant*, Sir Arthur for Durham. A tax was laid upon coals by the members at Westminster, of one pound ten shillings upon an hundred pound of great English, or Scotch coals. See a Treatise of Excise, annexed to the City Alarm, 1645, p. 30, Pub. Libr.



Some for abolishing black-pudding,  
And eating nothing with the blood in;

Cambridge, xix. 9. art. 3. Or an allusion to a tract entitled, The Woodmonger's Remonstrance; or, The Carman's Controversy rightly stated. By W. L. London, 1649, p. 29. The title of one section, Expedients to abate the Price of Sea-coal, (*penes me*); or to a tract entitled, Sea-coal, Charcoal, and Small-coal; or, A Discourse between a Newcastle Collier, a Small-coal Man, and a Collier of Croydon; concerning the Prohibition of Trade with Newcastle: and the fearful Complaint of the Poor of the City of London, for the enhancing the Price of Sea-coals. London, 1643. (*penes me*.) One paragraph of which I take the liberty of transcribing:

*Small-coal.* "As your faithful companion, and one that loves you very well, without offence let me advertise you, this enhancing your price already, and the fear that you will daily rise higher and higher, begets no small murmurs in the city. First and foremost, your brewers cry out, they cannot make their ale and beer so strong as it was wont to be, by reason of the dearth or scarcity of fuel; and then all the good fellows, such as myself, that used to toast our noses over a good sea-coal fire of my kindling, at an alehouse, with a pot of nappy ale, or invincible stale beer, cry out upon the smallness both of the fire and liquor, and curse your avarice, Sea-coal, that occasions these disasters: for your bricklayers and builders with open throats exclaim at your scarcity; the bricks, which were badly burnt before, are now scarce burned at all, no more than if they were only baked in the sun, and are so brittle that they will not hold the lay. Cooks, that noble fraternity of Fleet Lane, and in general thro' the city, raise their meat at least twopence in a joint; and instead of roasting it twice or thrice, according to their ancient custom, sell it now blood-raw, to the detriment of the buyer. Finally, alehouses rail at your dearth abominably; and all the poor people of this populous city, and its large suburbs, whose slender fortunes could not lay out so much money together as would lay their provisions in for the whole winter, cry out with many bitter execrations, that they are forced to pay two or three pence in a bushel more than they were wont to do, and accuse your factors, Sea-coal, as wharfmen, wood-

To abrogate them roots and branches;  
While others were for eating Haunches

"mongers, chandlers, and the like, of too apparent injustice and covetousness, in engrossing the whole store into their hands, and selling them at their own prices, as if there were a dearth of your commodities in the city, when it is very well known there is provision enough of sea-coal to serve it plentifully, without supplies from Newcastle, for these twenty months and more; so that if some course be not taken, the people, especially the poorer sort, must undergo great want."

ψ. 322. *And eating nothing with the blood in;]* See Dr Shuckford's *Connections*, vol. i. p. 96.

ψ. 323. *To abrogate them roots and branches.]* This was the spirit of the times: there was a proposal to carry twenty royalists in front of Sir Thomas Fairfax's army, to expose them to the fire of the enemy; and one Gourdon moved, "That the Lady Capel and her children, and the Lady Norwich, might be sent to the General with the same directions, saying, their husbands would be careful of their safety; and when diverse opposed so barbarous a motion, and alleged that Lady Capel was great with child, near her time, Gourdon pressed it the more eagerly, as if he had taken the General for a man-midwife." (Walker's *History of Independency*, part i. p. 99.) Nay, it was debated at a council of war, (see *Hist. of Independency*, part ii. p. 30. from Sedgwick's *Justice upon the Army's Remonstrance*), "To massacre, and put to the sword all the King's party: the question put, was carried in the negative but by two votes." "Their endeavours (says he, *History of Independency*, part iii. p. 11.) was how to diminish the number of their opposites, the Royalists and Presbyterians, by a massacre: for which purpose, many dark lanthorns were provided last winter, (1649), which, coming to the common rumour of the town, put them in danger of the infamy and hatred that would overwhelm them: so this was laid aside." A bill was brought in, 1656, for decimating the Royalists, but thrown out. (See *Thurloe's State-Papers*, vol. vi. p. 20, 37, 38.) And this spirit was but too much encouraged by their clergy. Mr Caryl (in a *Thanksgiving-Sermon* before the Commons, April 23, 1644. p. 46.) says, "If Christ will set up his kingdom upon the carcases of the slain, it well becomes all elders to rejoice, and

Of Warriors, and *now* and *then* 325

The *Flesh of Kings* and *mighty Men*;

And some for breaking of their bones

With rods of ir'n, by Secret Ones :

For thrashing mountains, and with spells

For hallowing carriers' packs and bells : 330

"give thanks. Cut them down with the sword of justice, rout them out, and consume them as with fire, that no root may spring up again." George Walker before the Commons, Jan. 29, 1644. p. 19. (Century of eminent Presbyterian Preachers, p. 46.) "Of all Ahab's family, and perfecting house, there was not a man left to make water against the wall, not one man of all Baal's priests escaped, but all cut off." Walker, *ibid.* p. 39. Century, &c. *ibid.*

Of this spirit was Mr George Swathe, minister of Denham in Suffolk, who, in a prayer, July 13, 1641 or 1642, (see Swathe's Prayers, p. 31.) has the following remarkable words : "Lord, if no composition will end the controversy between the King and Parliament, but the King and his party will have blood; let them drink of their own cup, let their blood be spilled like water; let their blood be sacrificed to thee, O God, for the sins of our nation."

ψ. 327, 328. *And some for breaking of their bones—With rods of ir'n, &c.]* A sneer upon their canting abuse of Psalm ii. 9.

ψ. 329. *For thrashing mountains,]* A sneer upon the cant of the Fifth Monarchy Men, (for their misapplication of that text, Isa. xli. 15. *Thou shalt thresh the mountains, and beat them small, and shall make the hills as chaff*), of whom Mr Thurloe observes, (State-Papers, vol. vi. p. 185.) "That they encouraged one another with this, that though they were but a worm, that yet they should be made instruments to thresh mountains."

ψ. 329, 330. —*and with spells—For hallowing carriers' packs and bells.]* Alluding to their horrid canting abuse of Scripture-phrase, especially of those two passages, Isa. xli. 15. Zech. xiv. 20.

"Here are perform'd the conjurings and spells,

"For christ'ning saints, and hawks, and carriers' bells."

Oldham's 4th Sat. against Jesuits.

Things that the Legend never heard of,  
But made the wicked fore afraid of.

The quacks of government, (who fate  
At th' unregarded Helm of State,  
And understood this wild confusion 335  
Of fatal madness and delusion  
Must, sooner than a prodigy,  
Portend destruction to be nigh),  
Consider'd timely how t' withdraw,  
And save their wind-pipes from the law; 340  
For one rencounter at the bar  
Was worse than all th' had 'scap'd in war;  
And therefore met in consultation  
To Cant and Quack upon the nation;  
Not for the sickly patient's sake, 345  
Nor what to give, but what to take :  
To feel the pulses of their fees,  
More wise than fumbling arteries;  
Prolong the snuff of life in pain,  
And from the grave recover——Gain. 350

'Mong these there was a Politician,  
With more heads than a *Beast in Vision*,

ψ. 332. —*afear'd of.*] *Afraid of*, edit. 1678. Altered to *afear'd of*, 1684.

ψ. 333. *The quacks of government.*] These were the politicians of those times; namely, Mr Hollis, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Grimstone, Annesly, Manchester, Roberts, and some others, who were apprehensive of a revolution: they saw the necessity of a Restoration, that matters might fall again into their right channel, after the strange convulsions and disorders that followed upon Cromwell's death. They wisely therefore held their cabals, to consult of methods how to secure themselves. Dr B.

ψ. 351. *'Mong these there was a Politician,*] This was Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, who complied with every change in those times. Mr Wood's character of him, (*Athen. Oxon.* 1st edit. vol. ii. col. 540, 541.) tallies exactly with this; as

And more intrigues in ev'ry one  
 Than all the *Whores of Babylon* :  
 So politic, as if one eye 355  
 Upon the other were a spy,  
 That to trapan the one to think  
 The other blind, both strove to blink :  
 And in his dark pragmatic way  
 As busy as a child at play. 360  
 H<sup>e</sup> had seen three governments run down,  
 And had a hand in ev'ry one :  
 Was for 'em, and against 'em all,  
 But barb'rous when they came to fall :

does Mr Butler's, (see fable of the Lion and the Fox. Remains.) And in many respects Mr Dryden's, (Abfalom and Ahithophel, p. 3. Fables, folio edit. 1701.)

Y. 352. *With more heads than a Beast in Vision.*] See Revelations xiii.

Y. 355, 356. *So politic, as if one eye—Upon the other were a spy.*] He is thus described by the author of a poem entitled, *The Progress of Honesty; or, the View of Court and City*, p. 22.

" Some call him Hophni, some Ahithophel,

" Others chief advocate for hell.

" Some cry, He sure a second Janus is,

" And all things past and future sees ;

" Another, rapt in satire, swears his eyes

" Upon himself are spies ;

" And sily do their optics inwards roll,

" To watch the subtle motions of his soul ;

" That they with sharp perspective sight,

" And help of intellectual light,

" May guide the helm of state aright :

" Nay, view what will hereafter be,

" By their all-seeing quality."

Y. 363. *Was for 'em, and against 'em all.*] Bishop Burnet was well acquainted with the Earl of Shaftsbury, and confirms this part of his character. He tells us, (*History of his own Times*, vol. I. p. 97.) the Earl was not ashamed to reckon up the many turns he had made ; and valued himself for the doing it at the properest season, and in the best



For by *trepanning* th' old to ruine, 365  
 He made his int'rest with the new one;  
 Play'd true and faithful, though against  
 His conscience, and was still advanc'd.  
 For by the witchcraft of rebellion  
 Transform'd t' a feeble State-Camelion, 370  
 By giving aim from side to side,  
 He never fail'd to save his tide,  
 But got the start of ev'ry state,  
 And at a change ne'er came too late;  
 Cou'd turn his word, and oath, and faith, 375  
 As many ways as in a lath:  
 By turning, wriggle, like a screw,  
 Int' highest trust, and out, for new.  
 For when h' had happily incur'd,  
 Instead of hemp, to be prefer'd, 380  
 And pass'd upon a government,  
 He play'd his trick, and out he went:  
 But being out, and out of hopes  
 To mount his ladder (more) of ropes,  
 Wou'd strive to raise himself upon 385  
 The public ruin, and his own:  
 So little did he understand  
 The desp'rat'st feats he took in hand.  
 For when h' had got himself a name  
 For fraud and tricks, he spoil'd his game; 390

manner. See a song called *Chips of the Old Blocks*, ft. 26. Collection of Loyal Songs, vol. II. No. xiv. p. 57.

ψ. 370. — [*State-Camelion*.] Alluding to that famous tract of Buchanan's so called. (Mr W.) This tract was wrote against the Laird of Liddington. *Vide edit. Lugd. Batav.* 1723. vol. i. *prope finem*.

ψ. 371. *By giving aim from side to side*.] In all editions till 1710, and then altered thus:

*By giving aim from either side.*

Had forc'd his neck into a noose,  
To shew his play at *Fast and Loose*;  
And when he chanc'd t' escape, mistook  
For art and subtlety his luck.

So right his judgment was cut fit, 395

And made a tally to his wit,

And both together most profound

At deeds of darkness under ground :

As th' earth is easiest undermin'd

By vermin impotent and blind. 400

By all these arts, and many more,

H' had practis'd long and much before,

Our State-Artificer foresaw

Which way the world began to draw.

For as old Sinners have all points 405

O' th' compass in their bones and joints ;

Can by their pangs and aches find

All turns and changes of the wind,

And better than by Napier's Bones,

Feel in their own the age of moons : 410

Y. 399, 400. *As th' earth is easiest undermin'd—By vermin impotent and blind.*] Comparing him to the mole. *Talpa cæcior* is an old proverb; the mole has an imperfect sight. See Sir Thomas Browne's *Vulgar Errors*, book iii. chap. 18. Ray's *Proverbial Sayings*, p. 279. Moles spectacles, *Spectator* or *Tatler*. One might have imagined that coekney to have been much blinder than the mole, who took a bush hung round with moles for a black-pudding tree. Fowles's *History of the Wicked Plots*, &c. p. 91.

Y. 409. *And better than by Napier's Bones.*] \* The famous Lord Napier of Scotland, the first inventor of logarithms, contrived also a set of square pieces, with numbers on them, made generally of ivory, which perform arithmetical and geometrical calculations, and are commonly called *Napier's bones*. See Harris's *Lexic. Technic*, Chambers's *Cyclopædia*. Leybourn's *Art of Numbring*, by speaking Rods, 1685. Mr Ward's *Lives of the Professors of Gref-*

So guilty sinners in a state,  
 Can by their crimes prognosticate,  
 And in their consciences feel pain  
 Some days before a show'r of rain.  
 He therefore wisely cast about 415  
 All ways he cou'd, t' *insure his Throat*;  
 And hither came t' observe and smoke  
 What courses other riskers took;  
 And to the utmost do his best  
 To save himself, and hang the rest. 420

ham-College, 1740, p. 120, &c. Lilly's History of his own Life and Times, p. 105.

Mr Butler likewise might have in view the case of Archibald Lord Napier, a great Royalist, (see Bishop Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 204.) who died in his Majesty's service at Franchin in Athole.—“ The Committee (in Bishop Guthrie's words) resolved to raise his bones, and make a forefaulture thereupon; and for that end, letters were ordained to be executed at the Pier of Leith against Archibald Lord Napier his son, then in exile for his Loyalty, to appear upon sixty days warning, to see the same done. And when his friends were startled at this, and enquired what was meant by it, they found it was only to draw money from the new Lord Napier, for the use of some sycophants that expected it; and so they advanced five hundred marks for that end, and thereupon the intended forefaulture was discharged.”

Y. 420. *To save himself, and hang the rest.*] Of this principle was Ralpho. See Dunstable Downs, Remains, p. 101.

“ As for betraying of my master,  
 “ A broken head must have a plaister;  
 “ A master, who is not a stark ass,  
 “ Will hang his man to save his carcase:  
 “ And if the man is such an elf  
 “ To save his master, hang himself,  
 “ The matter, as 't appears to me,  
 “ Renders the man *felo de se*.”

Sir A. Ashley Cooper was of the Miller's mind, who was concerned in the Cornish rebellion, in the year 1538: he apprehending that Sir William Kingston, provost-marshal, and

To match this saint, there was another  
As busy and perverse a brother,

a rigorous man upon that occasion, would order him to be hanged upon the next tree, before he went off told his servant that he expected some gentlemen would come a-fishing to the mill; and if they enquired for the miller, he ordered him to say, that he was the Miller. Sir William came according to expectation, and inquiring for the Miller, the poor harmless servant said he was the Miller: upon which the Provost ordered his servants to seize him, and hang him upon the next tree; which terrified the poor fellow, and made him cry out, "I am not the Miller, but the Miller's man." The Provost told him, That he would take him at his word: "If (says he) thou art the Miller, thou art a busy knave and rebel; and if thou art the Miller's man, thou art a false lying knave, and canst not do thy master more service than to hang for him." And without more ceremony he was executed. (*Grafton's Chronicle. Speed's Chronicle, edit. 1627, p. 823. History of England from authentic Records, &c. 1706. vol. i. p. 410.*) Or of Giffan's mind, who says to Guthrie, (see Dialogue between Mr Guthrie and Mr Giffan, 1661, p. 24.) "God's bread, Sir, you'll 'e'en say enough for us beath: would your Reverence "might hang for us beath."

Y. 421. *To match this saint, there was another, &c.*] This character exactly suits John Lilburn, and no other, (though it is an anachronism, as I shall shew below), especially the 437, 438, 439, and 440th lines: for it was said of him when living, by Judge Jenkins, (*Wood's Athen. Oxon. part ii. col. 102.*), "That if the world was emptied of all but himself, Lilburn would quarrel with John, and John with Lilburn;" which part of his character gave occasion for the following lines at his death:

"Is John departed? and is Lilburn gone?

"Farewell to both, to Lilburn, and to John.

"Yet being dead, take this advice from me,

"Let them not both in one grave buried be:

"Lay John here, and Lilburn thereabout,

"For if they both should meet, they would fall out."

Lilburn died a Quaker, August 28, 1657, (see *Merc. Polit. No. 379. page 1597. Mr Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, from Mr Smith's Obituary, vol. II. lib. xiv. p. 30.*), a full year before Oliver Cromwell; whereas this thing happened not

An haberdasher of small wares,  
 In politics, and state-affairs :  
 More Jew than Rabbi Ahithophel, 425  
 And better gifted to rebel :  
 For when h' had taught his tribe to 'spouse  
 The cause, aloft, upon one house,  
 He scorn'd to set his own in order,  
 But try'd another, and went further ; 430  
 So suddenly addicted still  
 To's only principle, his Will,  
 That whatsoe'er it chanc'd to prove,  
 Nor force of argument could move,  
 Nor Law, nor Cavalcade of Ho'burn, 435  
 Could render half a grain less stubborn.  
 For he at any time would hang,  
 For th' opportunity t' *harangue* :  
 And rather on a gibbet dangle,  
 Than miss his dear delight, to wrangle : 440  
 In which his parts were so accomplish't,  
 That, right or wrong, he ne'er was nonplust ;  
 But still his tongue ran on, the less  
 Of weight it bore, with greater ease ;  
 And with its everlasting clack, 445  
 Set all mens ears upon the rack.  
 No sooner cou'd a hint appear,  
 But up he started to piqueer,

till a year after that Usurper's death. But this is not the only mistake in chronology that Mr Butler is guilty of. (See in proof, Note upon verse 1239, 1240.) See a character of Lilburn, (Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 512.), and an account of his obstinacy, his Trial reprinted, I think, in the State Trials.

✓. 435. — *nor Cavalcade of Ho'burn.*] Alluding to the cavalcade of the sheriff and his officers, through Holborn, upon an execution at Tyburn.

✓. 448. *But up he started to piqueer.*] " *Pickeer*, or



And made the stoutest yield to mercy,  
 When he engag'd in Controversy. 450  
 Not by the force of carnal reason,  
 But indefatigable teasing;  
 With vollies of eternal babble,  
 And clamour more unanswerable.  
 For though his Topics, frail and weak, 455  
 Cou'd ne'er amount above a freak,  
 He still maintain'd 'em, like his faults,  
 Against the desp'ratest assaults;  
 And back'd their feeble want of sense,  
 With greater heat and confidence. 460  
 As bones of Hectors, when they differ,  
 The more they're cudgel'd grow the stiffer.  
 Yet when his profit moderated,  
 The fury of his heat abated;  
 For nothing but his interest 465  
 Cou'd lay his devil of contest:  
 It was his Choice, or Chance, or Curse,  
 T' espouse the cause, for *better* or *worse*,  
 And with his worldly goods and wit,  
 And Soul and Body, worship'd it. 470  
 But when he found the sullen Trapes  
 Possess'd with th' Devil, Worms, and Claps;  
 The Trojan Mare in foal with Greeks,  
 Not half so full of Jadish Tricks,

"skirmish, as light-horsemen do, before the main battle be-  
 gins." *Bailey*.

Ψ. 469, 470. *And with his worldly goods and wit,—And  
 Soul and Body, worshipp'd it.*] Alluding to the words in  
 the office of matrimony, "With my body I thee worship,  
 "and with all my worldly goods I do thee endow."

Ψ. 473. *The Trojan Mare in foal with Greeks.*] \* After  
 the Grecians had spent ten years in the siege of Troy with-  
 out the least prospect of success, they bethought them of a  
 stratagem, and made a wooden horse capable of containing

Though squeamish in her outward woman, 475  
 As loose and rampant as Dol Common :  
 He still resolv'd, to mend the matter,  
 T' adhere and cleave the obstinater :  
 And still the skittisher and looser  
 Her freaks appear'd, to fit the closer. 480  
*For fools are stubborn in their way,  
 As coins are harden'd by th' alloy :*  
 And obstinacy's ne'er so stiff,  
 As when 'tis in a wrong belief.  
 These two, with others, being met, 485  
 And close in consultation set ;

a considerable number of armed men ; this they filled with the choicest of their army, and then pretended to raise the siege ; upon which the credulous Trojans made a breach in the walls of the city to bring in this fatal plunder ; but when it was brought in, the inclosed heroes soon appeared, and surprising the city, the rest entered in at the breach. *Vide Dict. Cretens. de Bello Trojano, lib. v. p. 199, 200. ed. Basil. 1548. Chaucer's Squire's Tale, fol. 23. ed. 1602.*

ψ. 476. *As loose and rampant as Dol Common.* ] Dol Common was colleague to Subtle the Alchymist, and Face the housekeeper, in Ben Johnson's play called the Alchymist, (Works, folio, 1641. vol. i. p. 526, &c.), and a great strumpet.

*Rampant* (as well as *Romps*) comes probably from *Arompo*, which is an animal that is a man-eater in South-Guinea. See Churchill's *Voyages and Travels*, vol. v. p. 214. And *Plain Dealer*, vol. II. No. lxxvi. p. 160.

ψ. 482. *As coins are harden'd by th' alloy.* ] The more copper a silver coin contains, the harder it is ; and for that reason, plate-silver, which contains one part of copper to twenty-four parts of silver, is harder than the coppel silver, which contains but a quarter of a part of copper, to twenty-four parts of silver. (See Lemery's *Chymistry*, 3d edition, p. 92.) The silver with so small an alloy, was probably what Alfenius the Civilian interpreted the money to be, which the Carthaginians agreed to pay the Romans, *Certum pondus Argenti, Puri Puti. Vide Aul. Gellii Noct. Attic. lib. vi. cap. 5.*

ψ. 485, 486. *These two, with others, being met,—And close in consultation set.* ] This Cabal was held at White-

After a discontented pause,  
 And not without sufficient cause,  
 The orator we nam'd of late,  
 Less troubled with the pangs of state, 490  
 Than with his own impatience  
 To give himself first audience,  
 After he had a while look'd wise,  
 At last broke silence, and the Ice.

Quoth he, There's nothing makes me doubt 495  
 Our last Out-goings brought about,  
 More than to see the characters  
 Of real jealousies and fears  
 Not feign'd, as once, but sadly horrid,  
 Scor'd upon ev'ry member's forehead : 500  
 Who, 'cause the clouds are drawn together,  
 And threaten sudden change of weather,  
 Feel pangs and aches of state-turns,  
 And revolutions in their corns :  
 And, since our Workings-out are cross'd, 505  
 Throw up the Cause before 'tis lost.  
 Was it to run away we meant,  
 When, taking of the covenant,  
 The lamest cripples of the brothers  
 Took oaths to run before all others ; 510  
 But in their own sense, only swore  
 To strive to run away before ;

hall, at the very time that General Monk was dining with the city of London. I heartily wish the Poet had introduced the worthy Sir Hubibras into this grand assembly; his presence would have continued an uniformity in this Poem, and been very pleasing to the spectator. His natural propensity to loquacity would certainly have exerted itself on so important an occasion; and his rhetoric and jargon, would not have been less politic or entertaining than that of the two orators here characterized. Mr B,

And now would prove, that words and oath  
Engage us to renounce them both ?

'Tis true, the Cause is in the lurch, 515

Between a right, and mungril-church :

The Presbyter and Independent,

That stickle which shall make an end on't,

As 'twas made out to us the last

Expedient,—(I mean Marg'et's fast) 520

[*ψ. 520. I mean Marg'et's fast.*] In those times the word *Saint* was not permitted to be given to any but the friends to the rebellion; and the churches which were called *St Margaret's, St Clement's, St Martin's, St Andrew's*, they called *Margaret's, Clement's, Martin's, Andrew's*. Dr B.

Some of their forefathers amongst the Disciplinarians, such as Penry, the author of *Martin Mar Prelate*, instead of saints, styled some of the Apostles, and the Virgin Mary, in derision, *Sirs*; as, Sir Peter, Sir Paul, Sir Mary. See Bishop Cowper's Preface to his *Admonition to the People of England*.

The fast referred to might be either that appointed upon Oliver Cromwell's death, to be held September 10, 1658; (*Mercurius Politicus*, No. 433. p. 823.) or that appointed by Richard Cromwell and his council, Sept. 24. to be held the 13th of October following, (*Mercur. Politicus*, No. 435. p. 880.); or that appointed Dec. 17. for the 29th. *Mercur. Politicus*, No. 546. p. 84.

“ Let their priests prate and pray,

“ By order, and at Margaret's keep

“ An humiliation day.”

*Mercurius Pragmaticus*, No. iv. April 25. 1648.

These fasts, during the Usurpation, were not so frequent as before. It is observed by Mr Fowles, (*Hist. of the Wicked Plots of the pretended Saints*, p. 215.) “ That at the beginning of the wars, a public monthly fast was appointed for the last Wednesday of every month; but no sooner had they got the King upon the scaffold, and the nation fully secured to the Rump's interest, but they thought it needless to abuse and gull the people with a multitude of prayers and sermons; and so, by a particular act of their Worship, (April 23, 1649.), nulled the proclamation for the observation of the former. All which verifieth the old verses :

When Providence had been suborn'd,  
 What answer was to be return'd.  
 Else why should tumults fright us now,  
 We have so many times gone through?  
 And understand as well to tame, 525  
 As when they serve our turns, t' inflame :  
 Have prov'd how inconsiderable  
 Are all engagements of the rabble ;  
 Whose frenzies must be reconcil'd  
 With Drums, and Rattles, like a child; 530

" The devil was sick, the devil a monk would be ;

" The devil was well, the devil a monk was he."

George Fox, the father of the Quakers, observes upon their fasts in general, (Journal, p. 194, 294.) " That both " in the time of the Long Parliament, and of the Protector " so called, and of the Committee of Safety, when they " proclaimed fasts, they were commonly like Jezebel's, and " there was some mischief to be done." Their fasting was mere outside show and mockery: and, in some respects, they were like the holy maid mentioned by John Taylor the *Water-poet*, (see his *Jack-a-Lent*, Works, p. 114. And an account likewise of the Old Wife of Venice, Fowlis's *History of the Wicked Plots and Conspiracies of the pretended Saints*, p. 215. from the Bee-hive of the Romish Church, fol. 23.), " That enjoined herself to abstain four days from any meat " whatsoever; and being locked up close in a room, she " had nothing but her two books to feed upon: but the two " books were two painted boxes, made in the form of great " Bibles, with clasps and bosses, the insides not having one " word of God in them; but the one was filled with sweet- " meats, and the other with wine; upon which this devout " votary did fast with zealous meditation, eating up the " contents of one book, and drinking as contentedly the " other." *Vide Miraculum Patris Jejunantis.—Fascicul. Rer. Expetendar. et Fugiendar.* 521.

Y. 521. *When Providence had been suborn'd.*] Alluding to the impudence of those pretended saints, who frequently directed God Almighty what answers he should return to their prayers. Mr Simeon Ash was called the *God-challenger*. Letter sent to London from a Spy at Oxford, 1642. P. 4.



But never prov'd so prosperous,  
 As when they were led on by us :  
 For all our scouring of religion  
 Began with tumults and sedition :  
 When hurricanes of fierce commotion, 535  
 Became strong motives to devotion :  
 (As carnal seamen, in a storm,  
 Turn pious converts, and reform)  
 When rusty weapons, with chalk'd Edges,  
 Maintain'd our feeble privileges, 540  
 And brown-bills, levy'd in the city,  
 Made bills to pass the Grand Committee :

Y. 537, 538. *As carnal seamen, in a storm,—Turn pious converts, and reform.*] The cowardice of sailors in a storm is humorously exposed by Rabelais, in the character of Panurge, (Works, book IV. ch. xviii. p. 78, &c.) "Murder! this wave will sweep us away. Alas, the mizzen-sail's split; the gallery's wash'd away; the masts are sprung; the main topmast-head drives into the sea; the keel is up to the sun; our shrouds are almost all broke and blown away! Alas, alas! who shall have this wreck? Friend, lend me here behind you one of these whales.—Your lantern is fallen, my lads. Alas! don't let go the main-tack, nor the bowlin. I hear the block crack! is it broke? For the Lord's sake, let us save the hull, and let all the rigging be d—n'd.—Look to the needle of your compass, I beseech you, good Sir Astrophiel, and tell us, if you can, whence comes this storm? My heart's sunk down below my midriff—By my troth, I am in a sad fright—I am lost for ever—I console myself for mere madness and fear.—I am drown'd, I am gone, good people, I am drown'd!" See Shakespeare's *Tempest*, act i. Tatler, No. 111. Of the Atheist in a Storm. Amb's Ace, Sir Roger L'Estrange's Fables, part ii. fab. 115.

Y. 539. *When rusty weapons, with chalk'd Edges.*] To fight with rusty or poisoned weapons was against the law of arms: so when the citizens used the former, they chalked the edges. (Mr W.) See *Hamlet*, Shakespeare's plays, vol. vii. p. 341.

When Zeal, with aged clubs and gleaves,  
 Gave chase to Rochets, and White Sleeves,  
 And made the Church, and State, and Laws, 545  
 Submit t' Old Iron, and the Cause.

And as we thriv'd by Tumults then,  
 So might we better now agen,  
 If we knew how, as then we did,  
 To use them rightly in our need. 550

Tumults, by which the mutinous  
 Betray themselves instead of us ;  
 The hollow-hearted, disaffected,  
 And close malignant are detected :  
 Who lay their lives and fortunes down, 555

For pledges to secure our own ;  
 And freely sacrifice their ears  
 T' appease our jealousies and fears.  
 And yet for all these providences  
 W' are offer'd, if we had our senses; 560

We idly sit like stupid blockheads,  
 Our hands committed to our pockets ;  
 And nothing but our tongues at large,  
 To get the wretches a discharge.

Like men condemn'd to thunder-bolts, 565  
 Who, ere the blow, become mere dolts :

ψ. 544. *Gave chase to Rochets, and White Sleeves.*] Alluding to the insults of the mob upon the Bishops in those times. Lord Clarendon informs us, (History of the Rebellion, vol. i. p. 266.) "That the mob laid hands upon the Archbishop of York, going to the House of Peers, in that manner, that if he had not been seasonably rescued, it was believed they would have murdered him: so that all the Bishops, and many members of both Houses withdrew themselves from attending, from a real apprehension of endangering their lives." See French Report. Loyal Songs, reprinted 1731, vol. I. No. xi. p. 25. See the word *Rochets* explained, Wheatley's Rational Illustration.

Or fools besotted with their crimes,  
 That know not how to shift betimes,  
 And neither have the hearts to stay,  
 Nor wit enough to run away : 570  
 Who, if we cou'd resolve on either,  
 Might stand or fall at least together ;  
 No mean or trivial solace  
 To partners in extreme distress ;  
 Who use to lessen their despairs, 575  
 By parting them int' equal shares ;  
 As if the more they were to bear,  
 They felt the weight the easier ;  
 And ev'ry one the gentler hung,  
 The more he took his turn among. 580  
 But 'tis not come to that as yet,  
 If we had courage left or wit :  
 Who, when our fate can be no worse,  
 Are fitted for the bravest course ;  
 Have time to rally, and prepare 585  
 Our last and best defence, Despair :  
 Despair, by which the gallant'st feats  
 Have been atchiev'd in greatest straits,  
 And horrid'st dangers safely wav'd,  
 By being courageously out-brav'd ; 590

ψ. 585, 566. *Like men condemn'd to thunder-bolts,—Who, ere the blow, become mere dolts.*] Viz. soldiers-condemned to be shot.

*Quos perdere vult Jupiter, hos prius dementat.*

This has happened to some men from less-affecting circumstances. The famous Italian poet Tasso being imprisoned by order of the Duke of Ferrara, for a challenge given in his palace, upon which a duel ensued, was, in his confinement, dejected with so deep a melancholy, that it terminated in a stupidity. Mr Fenton's *Observations on Waller's Poems*, 4to, p. 18. See another instance of an innocent curate, by mistake taken up by the Inquisition in Italy, Baker's *History of the Inquisition*, p. 332.

As wounds by wider wounds are heal'd,  
 And poisons by themselves expell'd :  
 And so they might be now agen,  
 If we were, what we shou'd be, Men ;  
 And not so dully desperate, 595  
 To side against ourselves with fate :  
 As criminals condemn'd to suffer,  
 Are blinded first, and then turn'd over.  
 This comes of breaking covenants,  
 And setting up exauns of saints, 600  
 That fine, like aldermen, for grace,  
 To be excus'd the efficacy.  
 For spiritual men are too transcendent,  
 That mount their banks, for Independent,  
 To hang, like Mahomet, in th' air, 605  
 Or St Ignatius, at his prayer.

Y. 592. *And poisons by themselves expell'd.*] See annotations on *Religio Medici*, 1672, p. 213. Dr Derham's *Physico-Theology*, book II. chap. vi. p. 56, 57. 7th edition.

Y. 600. *And setting up exauns of saints.*] This is false printed; it should be written *exemts* or *exempts*, which is a French word pronounced *exauns*. (Mr D.) *Exempt des gardes du corps*; an *exempt*, a life-guard, free from duty. Boyer's French Dictionary.

Y. 601. *That fine, like aldermen, for grace.*] Formerly (whether it be so in London I know not), when a man fined for alderman, he commonly had the title, and was called *Mr Alderman*, though he sat not on the bench. These fanatics, if they were generous to the holder-forth, and duly paid him a good fine, received grace, and became saints by that means, though their lives were very wicked. Dr B.

Y. 605. *To hang, like Mahomet, in th' air.*] "Travel-  
 " lers have told us of two magnets, that are placed one of  
 " them in the roof, and the other on the floor of Maho-  
 " met's burying-place at Mecca; and by that means (say  
 " they) pull the impostor's iron coffin with such an equal  
 " attraction, that it hangs in the air between both of them."  
 (Spectator, No. 191.) They mistake the place of his burial;

By poor geometry, and hate  
 Dependence upon church or state;  
 Disdain the pedantry o' th' letter:  
 And since obedience is better 610  
 (The Scripture says) then sacrifice,  
 Presume the less on't will suffice;  
 And scorn to have the moderat'st stints  
 Prescrib'd their peremptory hints,  
 Or any opinion, true or false, 615  
 Declar'd as such, in Doctrinals:  
 But left at large to make their best on,  
 Without b'ing call'd t' account or question.

for I think both Dr Prideaux and Mr Reland agree in this particular, that he was buried at Medina, where he died; and under the bed where he died; as appears from Abul Feda his contemporary: "Sepultus est sub lecto in quo mortuus est; Tumulum ei effodit Abu-Talha Al. Ansarius." (*Ismael Abul-Feda de Vita Mohammedis, ed. Oxon. 1723. per Jo. Gagnier, p. 141. Not. Gagnier.*) "Idem vir Cl. Pocockius, *ibid.* nostrorum hominum de sepulchro Mohammedis ignorantiam, merito perstringit his verbis: "Unde igitur nobis Mohammedis cista ferrea inclusus; et magnetum vi in aere pendulus? Haec cum Mohammedis suis recitantur, risu exploduntur, ut nostrorum in ipsorum rebus, inscitiae argumentum." See Le Blanc's Travels, part I. chap. iv. p. 13. and the report of the coffin's being swallowed up by the opening of the pavement of the temple. Turkish Spy, vol. IV. book iv. letter 2.

ψ. 606. *Or St Ignatius, at his prayer.*] \* The Legend says of Ignatius Loyola, that his zeal and devotion transported him so, that at his prayers he has been seen to be raised from the ground for some considerable time together. *Vide Masseri Vit. Ignatii, lib. I. cap. vii. p. 297, 298. edit. Colon. Agrippin. 1590.* Mr Henry Wharton's tract entitled, *The Enthusiasm of the Church of Rome, demonstrated in some Observations upon the Life of Ignatius Loyola, London, 1688. p. 69, &c.*

ψ. 609. *Disdain the pedantry o' th' letter.*] See Note, Part II. Canto ii. ψ. 211.

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Interpret all the spleen reveals,  
 As Whittington explain'd the bells; 610  
 And bid themselves turn back agen  
 Lord May'rs of New Jerusalem;  
 But look so big, and overgrown,  
 They scorn their edifiers t' own,  
 Who taught them all their *sprinkling lessons*, 615  
 Their tones, and sanctify'd expressions;  
 Bestow'd their gifts upon a faint,  
 Like charity, on those that want;

ψ. 620. *As Whittington explain'd the bells.*] Referring to the old ballad, in which are the following lines:

" So from the merchant-man  
 " Whittington secretly  
 " Towards his country ran,  
 " To purchase liberty.  
 " But as he went along  
 " In a fair summer's morn,  
 " London bells sweetly rung,  
 " Whittington back return:  
 " Evermore sounding so,  
 " Turn again Whittington;  
 " For thou in time shall grow  
 " Lord Mayor of London:  
 " And to the city's praise,  
 " Sir Richard Whittington  
 " Came to be in his days  
 " Thrice Mayor of London \*."

See a full account of him, and his great benefactions, Stowe's Survey of London, 4to, 1599. Weever's Ancient Funeral Monuments, p. 434. Baker's Chronicle, edition 1670. p. 169. Echard's History of England, vol. I. p. 434. Rapin's History, folio edit. vol. I. p. 504. Famous and Remarkable History of Sir Richard Whittington, thrice Lord Mayor of London, written by T. H. *Vulgaria*, vol. iii. No. 12. *Bibliothec. Pepysian*.

The Tatler observes, (No. 78.) " That Alderman Whittington began the world with a cat, and died worth three

\* Four times, Weever's Funeral Monuments.

And learn'd th' Apocryphal Bigots,  
 T' inspire themselves with Short-hand Notes ; 630  
 For which they scorn and hate them, worse  
 Than dogs and cats do sow-gelders,

" hundred and fifty thousand pounds, which he left to his  
 " only daughter three years after his Mayoralty." And  
 the author of *A Tale of a Tub* merrily observes upon the  
 story of Whittington and his cat, " That it is the work of  
 " that mysterious Rabbi, Jehuda Hannasi, containing a de-  
 " fence of the Gemara of the Jerusalem Misna, and its just  
 " preference to that of Babylon, contrary to the vulgar opi-  
 " nion." Introduction, p. 49.

¶ 629. *And learn'd th' Apocryphal Bigots,*] Their bi-  
 gotry against the Apocrypha was so remarkable, that even  
 the most learned amongst them, when opportunity offered,  
 had a fling at it: and among the rest, the learned Dr Light-  
 foot, then Member of the Assembly of Divines: " Thus  
 " sweetly and nearly (says he) stand the Two Testaments  
 " joined together, and thus divinely would they kiss each  
 " other, but that the wretched Apocrypha does thrust in be-  
 " tween; like the two cherubims betwixt the temple oracle,  
 " they would touch each other, the end of the law with the  
 " beginning of the gospel, did not this patchery of human  
 " inventions divorce them asunder." (Lightfoot's Fast-ser-  
 mon before the Commons, March 9. 1643, called *Elias Redi-  
 vivus*, p. 5. Cent. of Eminent Presbyterian Preachers, p. 87.)  
 This prejudice of theirs is humorously bantered by Sir Ro-  
 ger L'Estrange. (See Fable entitled, *A Wonderful Antipa-  
 thy*, 2d part, fab. 241.) He tells us of a lady that had un-  
 doubtedly been choked with a piece of an apple-tart, if her  
 next neighbour at the table had not dexterously got it out  
 of her throat. She was a tender-conscienced creature, and  
 the tart, it seems, was bottomed with a piece of the Apo-  
 crypha; and her antipathy to that kind of trade would have  
 been as much as her life was worth, if she had not been rea-  
 sonably relieved.

¶ 630. *T' inspire themselves with Short-hand Notes.*]

" And his way to get all this  
 " Is mere dissimulation;  
 " No factious lecture does he miss,  
 " And 'scapes no schism that's in fashion;

For who first bred them up to pray,  
 And teach the *House of Commons* way?  
 Where had they all their gifted phrases,  
 But from our Calamys and Cafes?

" But with short hair and shining shoes,  
 " He with two pens and note-book goes,  
 " And winks, and writes at random;  
 " Then with short meal and tedious grace,  
 " In a loud tone, and public place,  
 " Sings Wisdom's hymns, that trot and pace,  
 " As if Goliath scann'd 'um."

The Reformation, Collection of Loyal Songs, reprinted  
 1731, vol. I. No. 65. ft. 7.

This practice is likewise bantered by the author of A Sa-  
 tire against Hypocrites:

" There Will. writes short-hand with a pen of brass;  
 " O, how he's wonder'd at by many an ass!  
 " That see him shake so fast his warty fist,  
 " As if he'd write the sermon 'fore the priest  
 " Has spoke it \*.——

" Stand up, good middle-isle folks, and give room,  
 " See where the mothers and the daughters come;  
 " Behind, the servants looking all like martyrs,  
 " With Bibles in plush jerkins and blue garters;  
 " The silver inkhorn, and the writing-book,  
 " In which I wish no friend of mine to look;  
 " Lest he be cross'd, and bless'd with all the charms,  
 " That can procure him aid from conjurers' harms †.

" But they that did not mind the doleful passion,  
 " Follow'd their business on another fashion;  
 " For all did writé, the elders and the novice;  
 " Methought the church look'd like the Six Clerk's-Of-  
 fice. ‡"

ψ. 636. *But from our Calamys and Cafes.*] Calamy and  
 Cafe were chief men among the Presbyterians, as Owen and  
 Nye were amongst the Independents. Dr B.

Sir John Birkenhead (see Paul's Churchyard, cent. 3. class  
 x. sect. 21.) makes it a query, " Whether Calamy and Cafe  
 " were not able to fire the Dutch armada with the breath  
 " of their nostrils, and the assistance of Oliver's burning-

\* P. 5. † *Id. ib.* p. 8. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 17.

Without whose sprinkling and sowing,  
 Who e'er had heard of Nye or Owen?  
 Their Dispensations had been stifled,  
 But for one Adoniram Byfield :

640

"glass, (his nose), from the top of Paul's steeple, and save  
 "the watermen the danger of a sea-sight." See a further  
 account, Impartial Examination of Mr Neal's 3d Vol. of  
 the History of the Puritans, p. 172. Margin.

It is observed of Mr Edward Calamy, in a tract entitled,  
 The Arraignment of Persecution, p. 164 "That he was a  
 "man newly metamorphosed, by a figure which rhetori-  
 "cians call *metonymia beneficii*, from Episcopacy to Pres-  
 "bytery." And, in another, entitled, A Looking-glass for  
 Schismatics, 1725, p. 88. "That when the Bishops did bear  
 "rule, he was highly conformable in wearing the surplice  
 "and tippet, reading the service at the high-altar, bowing  
 "at the name of Jesus, and so zealous an observer of times  
 "and seasons, that being sick and weak on Christmas-  
 "day, with much difficulty he got into the pulpit, decla-  
 "ring himself there to this purpose: That he thought him-  
 "self in conscience bound to preach that day, lest the stones  
 "of the street should cry against him." And yet, upon a  
 turn of the times, in a Fast-Sermon upon Christmas-day,  
 1644, (p. 41.) he used the following words: "This year  
 "God, by his providence, has buried this feast in a fast,  
 "and I hope it will never rise again."

ψ. 640. But for our Adoniram Byfield.] He was a broken  
 apothecary, a zealous Covenanter, one of the scribes to the  
 Assembly of Divines; and no doubt, for his great zeal and  
 pains-taking in his office, he had the profit of printing the  
 Directory, the copy whereof was sold for 400 l.; though,  
 when printed, the price was but threepence. It is queried  
 by Sir John Birkenhead, (Paul's Churchyard, cent. I. class  
 iv. sect. 91.) "Whether the stationer who gave 400 l. for  
 "the Directory, was cursed with bell and candle as well as  
 "the book?" Overton (Arraignment of Persecution, p.  
 39.) says he gave 450 l. for it.

This Byfield was father to the late celebrated Dr Byfield,  
 the sal volatile doctor. Mr Cleveland, in his Hue and Cry  
 after Sir John Presbyter, has the following lines upon him:

"If you meet any that do thus attire them,  
 "Stop them, they are the tribe of Adoniram."

And had they not begun the war,  
 Th' had ne'er been Sainted as they are :  
 For Saints in peace degenerate,  
 And dwindle down to reprobate ;  
 Their Zeal corrupts, like standing water, 645  
 In th' intervals of War and Slaughter ;  
 Abates the sharpness of its edge,  
 Without the pow'r of sacrilege :  
 And though they've tricks to cast their sins,  
 As easy as serpents do their skins, 650

ψ. 648. *Without the pow'r of sacrilege.*] It is an observation made by many writers upon the Assembly of Divines, that in their annotations upon the Bible they cautiously avoid speaking upon the subject of sacrilege.

ψ. 650. *As easy as serpents do their skins.*] To this Virgil alludes, *Aeneid* ii. 471, &c.

*Qualis ubi in lucem coluber mala gramina pastus, &c.*

" So shines, renew'd in youth, the crested snake,  
 " Who slept the winter in a thorny brake ;  
 " And casting off his skin, when spring returns,  
 " Now looks aloft, and with new glory burns."

Mr Dryden.

And in another place, *Georgic*. lib. iii. 438, 439.

*Cum positis novus exuviiis, nitidusque juvena*

*Volvitur.*——

Lucretius speaks to the same purpose, *De Rerum Natura*, lib. iii. 613, 614.

*Sed magis ire foras, vestemque relinquere, ut anguis*  
*Gauderet praelonga senex.*——

" As snakes, whene'er the circling year returns,  
 " Rejoice to cast their skins, or deer their horns."

Mr Creech.

And so does Mr Spencer, *Fairy Queen*, book IV. canto iii. st. 29. vol. III. p. 582.

" Like as a snake, whom weary winter's teen \*  
 " Hath worn to nought, now feeling summer's might,  
 " Casts off his skin, and freshly doth him dight †."

See Lord's Bacon's *Natural Hist.* cent. viii. p. 154. Shake-

\* Sorrow.

† Dress.



That in a while grow out agen,  
 In peace they turn mere carnal men;  
 And from the most refin'd of saints,  
 As naturally grow miscreants,  
 As barnacles turn Soland geese 653  
 In th' islands of the Orcades.

speare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Works, vol. i. p. 99.  
 Dr Derham's *Physico-Theology*, book IX. chap. i. p. 398.  
 7th edition.

ψ. 655. *As barnacles turn Soland geese.*] It is said, that  
 in the Orcades of Scotland there are trees which bear these  
 barnacles, which dropping into the water, become Soland  
 geese.

To this opinion Du Bartas alludes, *Divine Weeks*, p. 278.

" So slow Bootes underneath him fees,  
 " In th' icy isles, those gollings hatch'd of trees;  
 " Whose fruitful leaves falling into the water,  
 " Are turn'd, they say, to living fowls soon after:  
 " So rotten sides of broken ships do change  
 " To barnacles; O transformation strange!  
 " 'Twas first a green tree, then a gallant hull;  
 " Lately a mushroom, then a flying gull."

Dr Turner, an Englishman, gave in to this opinion, as  
 Wierus observes, (*De Præstigiis Dæmon. lib. iii. cap. 24.*);  
 and, of later years, Sir Robert Moray, who, in his *Relation*  
 concerning Barnacles, (*Philosophical Transactions*, vol. XI.  
 No. cxxxvii. p. 925, 926.) gives the following account:  
 " These shells hang at the tree by a neck longer than the  
 " shell; of a kind of filmy substance, round and hollow, and  
 " creased, not unlike the windpipe of a chicken; spreading  
 " out broadest where it is fastened to the tree, from which  
 " it seems to draw and convey the matter, which serves for  
 " the growth and vegetation of the shell, and the little  
 " bird within it.

" This bird, in every shell that I opened, as well the least  
 " as the biggest, I found so curiously and completely formed,  
 " that there appeared nothing wanting as to the external  
 " parts for making up a perfect sea-fowl; every little part  
 " appearing so distinctly, that the whole looked like a large  
 " bird seen through a concave, or diminishing glass, the  
 " colour and feature being every where so clear and neat.

Their Dispensation's but a ticket  
For their conforming to the wicked;

"The little bill like that of a goose, the eyes marked, the head, neck, breast, and wings, tail and feet formed, the feathers every where perfectly shaped, and blackish coloured, and the feet like those of other water-fowl, to the best of my remembrance: all being dead and dry, I did not look after the inward parts of them; but having nipt off, and broken a great many of them, I carried about twenty or twenty-four away with me. The biggest I found upon the tree was about the size of the figure here representing them; nor did I ever see any of the little birds alive, nor met with any body that did; only some credible persons have assured me, they have seen some as big as their fist." See a further account of the Scotch barnacle, and the French macreuse of the duck kind, Philosophical Transactions, vol. xv. No. 172. p. 1036.

Mr Cleveland, from this tradition, has raised a pungent satire against the Scots.

"——A voider for the nonce,  
"I wrong the devil, shou'd I pick their bones;  
"That dish is his, for when the Scots decease,  
"Hell, like their nation, feeds on barnacles.  
"A Scot, when from the gallow-tree got loose,  
"Drops into Styx, and turns a Soland goose."

My friend, the Rev. Mr William Smith of Bedford, observes, that it is a fact well known in all fens, that the wild geese and ducks forsake them in laying-time; going away to the uninhabited (or very little frequented) isles in Scotland, in order to propagate their several kinds with greater safety; their young ones as soon as hatched are naturally led by them into creeks and ponds, and this, he imagines, gave rise to the old vulgar error, that geese spring from barnacles. "I have formerly (says he) upon Ullswater (which is seven miles long, one mile broad, and about twenty fathom deep, and parts Westmoreland from Cumberland) seen many thousands of them together, with their new broods, in the month of October, in a calm and serene day, resting (as it were) in their travels to the more southern parts of Great Britain. And give me leave to add, that one Mr Drummond, in a poem of his called *Polemo-Middinia*, entitles the rocky island of Bass, *Bassa Solgofifera*, (p. 2, edit, 1691. Oxon. 4to.) Capt. Tiler,

With whom the greatest difference  
 Lyes more in words, and shew, than sence. 660  
 For as the Pope, that keeps the gate  
 Of heaven, wears three crowns of state ;

“ in his fine cuts of Scotland, exhibits an exceeding beautiful prospect of the said island, with the wild fowls flying over, or swimming all around. I had almost forgot to tell you, that almost all the drakes stay behind in De-  
 “ ping-Fen in Lincolnshire.”

John Major (an ancient Scotch historian, *De Reb. Gest. Scotor. lib. i. fol. 10. edition 1521.*) seems to confirm this in some respects: “ Hæ anates, aut hi anseres, in vere, tur-  
 “ matim a meridie ad rupem Bas quotannis veniunt, et  
 “ rupem duobus vel tribus diebus circumvolitant: quo in  
 “ tempore rupem inhabitantes nullum tumultum faciunt;  
 “ tunc nidificare incipiunt, et tota aestate manent, et pisci-  
 “ bus vivunt.”

See a further account, Bishop Gibson's *Cambden*, vol. ii. col. 1184. Bishop Hall's *Meditations*, &c. 1615, p. 72. Sir Thomas Browne's *Vulgar Errors*, book iii. ch. 28.

Y. 661, 662. *For as the Pope, that keeps the gate—Of heaven.*] St Peter is, by Popish writers, called *Janitor Ecclesie*. (*Vide Sanderi, lib. de Clave David. cap. i. p. 10. edit. Wiceburgi, 1592. Princip. Fidei Doctrinal. Demon-  
 strat. a Tho. Stapletono, cent. ii. lib. VI. cap. vi. p. 216. Parisiis, 1579.*) Mr Laurence Howel observes, (*History of the Pontificate*, p. 17.) “ That an epistle ascribed to Pope  
 “ Calixtus, probably gave occasion to that idle fable of St  
 “ Peter's being the porter of heaven. For the author of it,  
 “ exciting people to several Christian duties, promises them  
 “ the reward of eternal glory by Jesus Christ, and that St  
 “ Peter should open to them the gates of glory. These (says  
 “ he) are mere dreams of old women, to make St Peter  
 “ porter of heaven; as if the gates of it were not com-  
 “ mitted to all pastors of the church, with St Peter.” See the Tale of Sextus Quintus, Sir Francis Bacon's *Apothegms*, No. 110. *Resuscitatio*, p. 237.

“ Funebre autem sacrum faciunt pro defunctis (Graeci et  
 “ Rutheni) quod ii suffragiis tolerabiliorum animabus locum  
 “ impetrari sperant, ubi facilius extremum diem judicii ex-  
 “ pectare possunt: etiam cum aliquis magnae auctoritatis  
 “ vir moritur; tunc Metropolitanus, sive Episcopus episte-

So he that keeps the gates of hell,  
 Proud Cerberus, wears three heads as well :  
 And, if the world has any troth, 665  
 Some have been canoniz'd in both.  
 But that which does them greatest harm,  
 Their spiritual gizzards are too warm,  
 Which puts the over-heated sots  
 In fevers still, like other goats ; 670  
 For though the whore bends hereticks  
 With flames of fire, like crooked sticks ;  
 Our schismatics so vastly differ,  
 Th' hotter th' are, they grow the stiffer :  
 Still setting off their spiritual goods, 675  
 With fierce and pertinacious feuds.  
 For Zeal's a dreadful Termagant,  
 That teaches Saints to *tear and rant*,  
 And Independents to profess  
 The doctrine of dependences ; 680

"Iam ad Sanctum Petrum scribit, sigillo suo, et manus subscriptione munitam, quam super pectus defuncti ponit, dans testimonium de bonis, piisque operibus ejus, utique in coelum facilius post diem judicii admitteretur, et Christianae religionis Catholicae agnoscat, subscribunt."

*Her. Muscovitar. Comment. a Sigismundo, &c. 1600. p. 17A.*

*ψ. 663, 664. So he that keeps the gates of hell,  
 Proud Cerberus, wears three heads as well.]*

—*Tenitque inhians tria Cerberus ora.*

*Virg. Georgic. lib. iv. 483.*

To this fable Mr Spencer alludes, (*Fairy Queen, book I. can. v. st. 34. vol. I. p. 83.*)

"Before the threshold dreadful Cerberus

"His three deformed heads did lay along ;

"Curl'd with a thousand adders venomous,

"And lolled forth his bloody, flaming tongue :

"At them he 'gan to rear his bristles strong ;

"And felly gnare."——

*ψ. 680. The doctrine of dependences.] I have heard of an independent teacher, who came to subscribe at the sessions.*

Turns meek, and secret, sneaking ones,  
 To *Raw-heads* fierce, and *Bloody-bones* :  
 And not content with endless quarrels  
 Against the wicked, and their morals,  
 The Gibellines, for want of Guelfs, 685  
 Divert their rage upon themselves.

and being asked by the gentlemen upon the bench of what sect he was? he told them, That he was an Independent: "Why an Independent?" says one of the Justices. "I am called an *Independent*, (says he), because I *depend* upon my Bible."

ψ. 682. *To Raw-heads fierce, and Bloody-bones.*] The author of a Dialogue between Timothy and Philatheus, (Introduction, p. 33.) speaking of that barbarous custom amongst the Heathens of sacrificing their children: "It came to pass with some of them, (says he), that they made nothing to bake and stew their children without pepper and salt; and to invite such of their gods as they best liked to the entertainment. This gave rise to the natural apprehensions all our little ones have of raw-heads, and bloody-bones; and I must needs tell you, I should not have liked it myself, but should have took to my heels at the first sound of the stew-pan; and besides that, have had a mortal aversion to minced meat ever after."

ψ. 685. *The Gibellines, for want of Guelfs.*] Monteith of Salmonet (see his History of the Troubles of Great-Britain, translated, 2d edit. 1739, in folio, p. 23.) compares the Covenanters, and Anti-covenanters, to the Guelfs and Gibellines. These were two opposite factions in Italy, that engaged against each other in the thirteenth century, one in behalf of the Emperor, and the other in behalf of the Pope.

*Factiones Guelforum pro Pontifice, et Gibellinorum pro Cesare in Italia oriuntur, 1245. Chronograph. Ecclesie Christiane a Henrico Pantaleone, Basilea, 1568. p. 99. Sleidani Comment. lib. xiv. p. 294. edit. Francofurti ad Menum, 1568. Naucleri Chronograph. vol. ii. p. 827. Notit. Romani Germanic. Imperii, lib. 4. cap. iv. p. 205, &c. Jo. Dubravii Olomuzensis Episcopi, Hist. Boemic. lib. xv. p. 143. Whetstone's English Mirror, 1586, lib. 1. chap. ix. p. 65. Puffendorf's Introduction to the History of Europe, 6th edit. p. 310, 643, 644, &c.*

\* Dr Heylin observes, (Cosmography, edition 1670, p. 130.)



For now the war is not between  
 The brethren, and the men of Sin;  
 But saint and saint, to spill the blood  
 Of one another's brotherhood; 690  
 Where neither side can lay pretence  
 To *Liberty of Conscience*,  
 Or Zealous suffering for the Cause,  
 To gain one groat's-worth of applause:  
 For though endur'd with Resolution, 695  
 'Twill ne'er amount to Persecution.  
 Shall precious faints, and secret ones,  
 Break one another's outward bones,  
 And eat the flesh of brethren,  
 Instead of kings, and mighty men? 700  
 When fiends agree among themselves,  
 Shall they be found the greater elves?  
 When Bell's at union with the Dragon,  
 And Baal-Peor friends with Dagon;  
 When savage bears agree with bears, 705  
 Shall secret ones lug Saints by th' ears,

"That some are of opinion, that the fiction of Elfs and  
 "Goblins, whereby we used to fright young children, was  
 "derived from Guelphs and Gibellines. *Vide Skinneri  
 Etymologic. Linguae Anglicanae, sub voce Goblins.*  
 N. 705. *When savage bears agree with bears.*]

—Quando—

*Indica tigris agit cum rabida tigride pacem  
 Perpetuam: saevius inter se convenit urfis.*

*Juvenal, Sat. xv. 163, 164.*

"Tiger with tiger, bear with bear you'll find

"In leagues offensive and defensive join'd."

Mr Dryden.

"Bears do agree with their own kind;

"But he was of such a cruel mind,

"He kill'd his brother cobbler before he had din'd."

An Hymn to the gentle Craft; or, Hewson's Lamentation.  
 Collection of Loyal Songs, vol. ii. No. 54.

And not atone their fatal wrath,  
 When common danger threatens both?  
 Shall mastiffs by the collars pull'd,  
 Engag'd with bulls, let go their hold? 710  
 And saints whose necks are pawn'd at stake,  
 No notice of the danger take?  
 But though no pow'r of heav'n or hell  
 Can pacify Phanatic Zeal;  
 Who wou'd not guess there might be hopes, 715  
 The fear of Gallowses and Ropes  
 Before their eyes, might reconcile  
 Their animosities a while?  
 At least until th' had a *clear Stage*,  
 And equal freedom to engage, 720  
 Without the danger of surprize  
 By both our common enemies?

This none but we alone cou'd doubt,  
 Who understand their *Workings out*;  
 And know 'em both in Soul and Conscience, 725  
 Giv'n up t' as Reprobate a Nonsense  
 As spiritual out-laws, whom the pow'r  
 Of miracle can ne'er restore.  
 We, whom at first they set up under,  
 In revelation only of Plunder, 730  
 Who since have had so many trials  
 Of their encroaching Self-denials,  
 That rook'd upon us with design  
 To *out-reform*, and *undermine*;

ψ. 733. *That rook'd upon us with design.*] These pretend-  
 ed saints at length, by their quarrels, fairly played the  
 game into the hands of the Cavaliers; and I cannot but  
 compare them to those Wiseacres who found an oyster, and  
 to end the dispute, put it to a traveller passing by to deter-  
 mine which had the better right to it. The arbitrator very  
 gravely takes out his knife, and opens it, the plaintiff and

Took all our interests and commands 735

Perfidiously out of our hands;

Involv'd us in the *Guilt of Blood*,

Without the Motive-Gains allow'd,

And made us serve as *ministerial*,

Like younger sons of Father Belial. 740

And yet for all th' inhuman wrong,

Th' had done us, and the Cause so long,

We never fail'd to carry on

The work still, as we had begun :

But true and faithfully obey'd, 745

And neither *preach'd them hurt*, nor *pray'd*;

Nor troubled them to crop our ears,

Nor hang us like the Cavaliers ;

Nor put them to the charge of Gaols,

To find us Pillories and Cart's-tails, 750

Or Hangman's Wages, which the state

Was forc'd (before them) to be at ;

defendant at the same time gaping at the man to see what would come on't. He loosens the fish, gulps it down, and as soon as ever the morsel was gone the way of all flesh, wipes his mouth, and pronounces judgment : " My masters, " (says he with the voice of authority), the Court has ordered each of you a shell without costs ; and so, pray, go home again, and live peaceably among your neighbours." L'Estrange's Fables, part i. fab. 411.

Y. 751. *Or Hangman's Wages.*] Thirteen-pence halfpenny have usually been called *hangman's wages*.

" For half of thirteen-pence halfpenny wages,

" I would have clear'd all the town cages,

" And you should have been rid of all the fages.

" I and my gallows groan."

The Hangman's Last Will and Testament. Loyal Songs, vol. ii. p. 238. To this probably the author of a tract entitled, The Marquis of Argyle's Last Will and Testament, published 1661, p. 5. alludes, "*Item*, To all the old Presbyterian serpents that have slipt their skins, and are winding themselves into favour in the a-la-mode cassock—

That cut, like tallies, to the stumps,  
 Our ears for keeping true accompts,  
 And burnt our vessels, like a new 755  
 Seal'd peck, or bushel, for b'ing true;  
 But hand in hand, like faithful brothers,  
 Held for the Cause, against all others,  
 Disdaining equally to yield  
 One syllable of what we held. 760  
 And though we differ'd now and then  
 'Bout outward things, and outward men;  
 Our inward men, and constant frame  
 Of spirit, still were near the same.  
 And till they first began to *cant*, 765  
 And sprinkle down the Covenant,

"I bequeath to each a Scotch thirteen-pence halfpenny,  
 "for the use of Squire Dun (the hangman), who shall shew  
 "them slip for slip." Hugh Peters, in a tract entitled, *A*  
*Word to the Army, and two Words for the Kingdom*, 1647.  
 p. 12. prop. 19. advises, "That poor thieves may not be  
 "hanged for thirteen-pence halfpenny, but that a galley  
 "may be provided to row in the river, or channel, to which  
 "they may be committed, or employed in draining lands,  
 "or banished."

I cannot really say whence that sum was called hangman's  
 wages, unless in allusion to the Halifax law, or the custo-  
 mary law of the forest of Hardwick, by which every felon  
 taken within the liberty or precincts of the said forest, with  
 goods stolen to the value of thirteen-pence halfpenny, should,  
 after three market-days in the town of Halifax, after his  
 apprehension and condemnation, be taken to a gibbet there,  
 and have his head cut off from his body. See Mr Wright's  
*History of Halifax*, 1738, p. 87.

To this John Taylor alludes, (in his poem entitled, *A*  
*very merry Wherry-ferry Voyage*, Works, p. 12.)

"At Halifax the law so sharp doth deal,  
 "That whoso more than thirteen-pence doth steal,  
 "They have a gin that wondrous quick and well,  
 "Sends thieves all headlong unto heaven or hell."

ψ. 765. *And till they first began to cant.*] From Mr An-  
 drew Cant, and his son Alexander. Seditious preaching and

We ne'er had call in any place,  
 Nor dream'd of teaching down Free Grace;  
 But join'd our gifts perpetually  
 Against the common enemy. 770  
 Although 'twas ours, and their opinion,  
 Each other's church was but a Rimmon:  
 And yet for all this Gospel Union,  
 And outward shew of Church-Communion;  
 They'd ne'er admit us to our shares 775  
 Of ruling church or state-affairs;  
 Nor give us leave t' absolve, or sentence  
 T' our own conditions of repentance:  
 But shar'd our *dividend o' th' Crown*,  
 We had so painfully preach'd down; 780  
 And forc'd us, though against the grain,  
 T' have calls to teach it up again:

praying in Scotland, was called *canting*. *Mercurius Publicus*, No. ix. p. 1632, 1633. 1661. Impartial Examination of Mr Neal's Fourth Volume of the History of the Puritans, p. 126.

Ψ. 771, 772. *Although 'twas ours, and their opinion,— Each other's church was but a Rimmon.*] See a remarkable instance in proof, from Mr Long's book entitled, *No Protestant, but Dissenter's Plot*. Impartial Examination of Mr Neal's Fourth Vol. of the Hist. of the Puritans, p. 217, &c. And John Abell's Letter. Thurloe's State-Papers, vol. II. p. 582.

Ψ. 781, 782. *And forc'd us, though against the grain,— T' have calls to teach it up again.*] Alluding either to the Presbyterian plot, 1651, to restore the King, called *Love's plot*; for which Mr Love, Mr Jenkins, Mr Case, Mr Drake, Presbyterian ministers, with some of the laity, were seized and imprisoned, (see Echard's History of England, vol. ii. p. 705. and Lord Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. iii. p. 337, 338.) and for which Mr Love and Mr Gibbons were beheaded on Tower-hill, 22d of August, according to the sentence of the High-Court of Justice, (Whitelock's Mem. 2d edit. p. 503.) all the rest were pardoned, (Whitelock, *ib.* p. 511.); or to the attempt of the Scots to restore him, after



For 'twas but justice to restore  
 The wrongs we had receiv'd before;  
 And when 'twas held forth in our way 785  
 W' had been ungrateful not to pay :  
 Who for the right w' have done the nation,  
 Have earn'd our *temporal Salvation* ;  
 And put our vessels in a way,  
 Once more to come again in play. 790  
 For if the turning of us out  
 Has brought this providence about,  
 And that our only suffering  
 Is able to bring in the King ;  
 What would our actions not have done, 795  
 Had we been suffer'd to go on ?  
 And therefore may pretend t' a share,  
 At least in *carrying on* th' affair :  
 But whether that be so, or not,  
 W' have done enough to have it thought ; 800  
 And that's as good as if w' had done't,  
 And easier past upon account :  
 For if it be but half deny'd,  
 'Tis half as good as justify'd.  
 The world is nat'rally averse 805  
 To all the truth it sees or hears,

he had taken the covenant, and been crowned at Scone,  
 Jan. 1. 1650-1.

Their behaviour towards him is notably girded in the following lines:

" Now, for the King the zealous kirk  
 " 'Gainst the Independent bleats,  
 " When as, alas ! their only work  
 " Is to renew old cheats :  
 " If they can fit, vote what they list,  
 " And crush the new states down ;  
 " Then up go they, but neither Christ  
 " Nor King shall have his own."

Sir John Birkenhead Reviv'd, p. 20.

But swallows nonsense, and a lie,  
 With greediness and gluttony;  
 And though it have the Pique, and long,  
 'Tis still for something in the wrong : 810  
 As women long, when they're with child,  
 For things extravagant and wild;  
 For meats ridiculous and fulsome,  
 But seldom any thing that's wholesome :

ψ. 809. *And though it have the Pique, and long.*] The pica is a depraved and longing appetite of women with child, or girls in the green sickness. See *Pica* and *Citta*, Blancard's Physical Dictionary.

ψ. 811, 812. *As women long, when they're with child, —For things extravagant and wild.*] Dr Daniel Turner, in his book, *De Morbis Cutaneis*, ch. 12. hath given some very remarkable instances of this kind; and, among the rest, one from Langius, (upon the credit of that author), of a woman longing to bite the naked shoulder of a baker passing by her; which rather than she should lose, the good-natured husband hires the baker at a certain price: accordingly, when the big-bellied woman had taken two morsels, the poor man, unable to hold out a third, would not suffer her to bite again; for want of which she bore, as the story goes, one dead child, with two living.

Wolffius (*Lectio. Memor. par. ii. p. 916.*) gives the following more remarkable (but barbarous) account, in the year 1580: "Isthuc ætatis Brettiburgi mulier gravida, de-  
 "siderio sui mariti capta ac accensa edendi, eum noctu  
 "jugulavit: et mortui sit brachium ac latus sinistrum cin-  
 "gulo tenus devoravit. Reliqua fæle condita reposuit: vo-  
 "lens, et illa comedere. Interea vero, tres peperit filios, et  
 "perpetuo clauditur carcere." *Imp. Rad. ii. Pap. Greg. 13.*  
 (See Sir Kenelm Digby's Discourse concerning the Powder of Sympathy). The merriest kind of longing was that mentioned by Ben Johnson, (Bartholomew Fair, act i. sc. 6.) of the lady who longed to spit in the great lawyer's mouth after an eloquent pleading. These unreasonable longings are exposed, *Spectator*, No. 326. And the privileges allowed big-bellied women that longed in Spain are mentioned, *Lady's Travels into Spain*, part ii. letter 9. p. 153.

And, like the world, Men's Jobbernoles 815  
 Turn round upon their Ears, the Poles;  
 And what they're confidently told,  
 By no sense else can be controul'd.

And this, perhaps, may prove the means  
 Once more to *hedge-in Providence.* 820

For as Relapses make diseases  
 More desp'rate than their first accessess;  
 If we but get again in pow'r,  
 Our work is easier than before;

And we more *ready and expert* 825  
 I' th' mystery, to do our part.

We, who did rather undertake

The *first War* to create, than make:

And when of nothing 'twas begun,

Rais'd Funds as strange to carry 't on: 830

ψ. 815. *And, like the world, Men's Jobbernoles.*] Vide *Skinneri Lexic. Etymologic.* and Rabelais's Works, *passim*.

ψ. 819, 820. *And this, perhaps, may prove the means—Once more, to hedge in Providence.*] A remarkable instance of this we find in a Book of Psalms, "fitted (as the title-page says) for the ready Use of all good Christians;" printed by an order of the Committee of Commons for printing, April 2, 1644. signed John White. Pf. xciv. 7. p. 163.

"The Lord yet shall not see, they say,

"Nor Jacob's God shall note."

There is a marginal explanation of Jacob's God—*The God of the Puritans*. Miserable Cavaliers indeed! if they were neither to have a King left them on earth, nor a God in heaven. Mr S. W.

ψ. 830. *Rais'd Funds as strange to carry't on.*] See an account of their remarkable funds, (Walker's History of Independency, part i. p. 7, &c. Impartial Examination of Mr Neal's Third Vol. of the History of the Puritans, p. 41. to 47. inclusive.) Mr Walker observes, (History of Independency, part ii. p. 253.) That there was an excise upon all that was ate, drank, or worn. See a farther account of their unreasonable taxes, (History of Independency, part iii. p. 7.); and in a tract entitled, London's Account; or, A Calculation of the arbitrary and tyrannical Exactions, Taxa-

Trepann'd the state, and fac'd it down,  
 With plots and projects of our own :  
 And if we did such feats at first,  
 What can we now w' are better vers'd ?  
 Who have a freer latitude,  
 Than sinners give themselves, allow'd :

835

tions, Impositions, Excises, Contributions, Subsidies, twentieth Parts, and other Assessments within the Lines of Communication, during the four Years of this unnatural War. Imprinted in the year 1647. Thus calculated: p. 11. "That the annual revenue, they say, is eleven hundred thousand pounds a-year; but I place (says he) but one million." The taxes, &c. raised by the rebels, 4,378,100 l. which for the four years is 17,512,400 l. See *Loyal Convert*, Oxford, 1644, p. 13.

ψ. 831, 832. *Trepann'd the state, and fac'd it down,—With plots and projects of our own.*] Sir Roger L'Estrange calls it the *old cheat of creating new plots*, (*Apol.* p. 57.) It was their constant practice, when they had any remarkable point to carry, to pretend there was a plot on foot to subvert the constitution. (See Lord Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. i. p. 208, 209, 210. *Impartial Examination of Mr Neal's Second Volume of the History of the Puritans*, p. 255.) Mr Walker observes of them, (*History of Independency*, part i. p. 77.) "That from the beginning they made lies their refuge." And elsewhere, (*Ibid.* p. 147.) "That they forged conspiracies, and false news, to carry on their base designs." "Their greatest masterpiece (says the writer of a tract entitled, *The True Informer*, 1643, p. 9.) is to forge counterfeit news, and to divulge and disperse it as far as they can, to amuse the world, for the advancement of their designs, and strengthening their party." See an account of one of their sham plots, *Second Part of the History of Independency*, p. 67.; of a sham plot in Dorsetshire smelt out by Oliver and his blood-hounds, *id. ib.* p. 229. Variety of instances, in a tract entitled, *Persecutio Undecima*, reprinted in folio, 1681, p. 33. Mr Symmons's *Vindication of King Charles Ist*, 8vo, p. 253. Sir Philip Warwick's *Memoirs*, p. 205. Presbyterian Prejudice display'd, in Answer to Mr Benjamin Bennet's Memorial of the Reformation, 1722, p. 58.

And therefore likeliest to bring in,  
 On fairest terms, our discipline ;  
 To which it was reveal'd long since  
 We were ordain'd by providence : 840  
 When three saints' ears, our predecessors,  
 The Cause's primitive confessors,  
 B'ing crucify'd, the nation stood  
 In just so many years of blood,  
 That, multiply'd by Six, exprest 845  
 The perfect Number of the Beast,  
 And prov'd that we must be the men  
 To bring this work about agen ;  
 And those who laid the first foundation,  
 Compleat the thorow reformation : 850  
 For who have gifts to carry on  
 So great a work, but we alone ?  
 What churches have such *able Pastors*,  
 And precious, powerful, *preaching Masters* ?

Ψ. 841. *When three saints' ears, &c.*] \* Burton, Pryn,  
 and Bastwick; three notorious ringleaders of the factions,  
 just at the beginning of the late horrid rebellion.

Ψ. 853, 854. *What churches have such able Pastors,—And  
 precious, powerful, preaching Masters?*] What sort of  
 preachers these were, may be judg'd from their sermons be-  
 fore the two Houses at Westminster, from the breaking out  
 of the rebellion to the murder of the King. Extracts from  
 them, in a tract entitled, *A Century of eminent Presbyterian  
 Preachers*; and Sir Roger L'Estrange's *Dissenters' Sayings*,  
 in two parts. As to their learning and casuistry, the rea-  
 der may find some curious specimens in the first edition of  
 the Assembly's Annotations upon the Bible, published in fo-  
 lio, 1645. Their note on Jacob's kids, Gen. xvii. 9. *Two  
 good kids.*] "Two kids (say they) seem too much for one  
 "dish of meat for an old man; but out of both, they might  
 "take the choicest parts to make it dainty; and the juice  
 "of the rest might serve for sauce, or for the rest of the  
 "family, which was not small."

And they observe upon Herod's cruelty, Matthew ii. 16.



Canto IL H U D I B R A S.

187

Possess'd with absolute dominions 855  
 O'er Brethren's Purfes and Opinions,  
 And trusted with the double keys  
 Of heaven, and their ware-houses;  
 Who when the Cause is in distress,  
 Can furnish out what fums they please, 860  
 That brooding ly in bankers' hands,  
 To be dispos'd at their commands;  
 And daily increase and multiply,  
 With Doctrine, Use, and Usury:  
 Can fetch in parties (as in war, 865  
 All other heads of cattle are;)  
 From th' enemy of all religions,  
 As well as high and low conditions,  
 And share them, from *blue Ribbands*, down  
 To all *blue aprons* in the Town: 870

*Sent forth*] "Solders to kill the children without any legal  
 "trial."

Y. 869, 870. *And share them, from blue Ribbands, down*  
 —To all blue Aprons in the Town.] Alluding to the many  
 preachers in blue aprons in those times. This secret we  
 learn from the following passages in Cleveland: in the first  
 of these he represents a fanatic within Christ-church, Ox-  
 ford, disliking every thing there, before it was reformed by  
 plunder and sequestration.

" —Shaking his head

" To see no ruins from the floor to th' lead;

" To whose pure nose our Cedar gave offence,

" Crying, It smelt of Papists' Frankincense:

" Counting our tapers works of darkness, and

" Chusing to see priests in blue aprons stand,

" Rather than with copes." —

In the other passage the scene is of himself, within a ve-  
 ry different place:

" And, first, to tell you must not be forgot,

" —How I did trot,

" With a great zealot to a lecture;

From ladies hurried in Calleches,  
 With Cornets at their footmen's breeches,  
 To bawds as fat as Mother Nab;  
 All guts and belly, like a crab.  
 Our party's great, and better ty'd 875  
 With Oaths, and Trade, than any side:  
 Has one considerable improvement,  
 To double fortify the cov'nant:  
 I mean our covenant, to purchase  
 Delinquents' titles, and the churches; 880

"Where I a tub did view  
 "Hung with an apron blue,  
 "'Twas the preacher's I conjecture:  
 "His use and doctrine too,  
 "Was of no better hue,  
 "Though he spake in a tone most mickle."—

Loyal Songs, vol. i. p. 132.

From hence we may illustrate our Poet's meaning, couch-  
 ed in that part of the character of his hero's religion—  
 "'Twas Presbyterian true blue, part I. canto i. verse 191.  
 Mr B.

"This makes our blue lecturers pray, preach, and prate,  
 "Without reason or sense against church, King or state,  
 "To shew the thin lining of his twice-cover'd pate." }

The Power of Money. Loyal Songs, &c. vol. i. p. 62.

See an account of the Blue-apron Committee at Reading,  
*Mercurius Rusticus*, No. iv. p. 44.

Y. 873, 874. *To bawds as fat as Mother Nab;—All guts  
 and belly, like a crab.*] Alluding probably to some noted  
 strumpet in those times. Gayton (notes upon Don Quixote,  
 book III. chap. ii. p. 72.) thus describes Maritornes: "She  
 "was a sow of the largest breed, she was an elephant in  
 "head and ears—her belly of a capacity for a cellar, two  
 "stands of ale might find room therein, and a sentry of  
 "spickets." See Ben Johnson's *Ursula*, Bartholomew Fair,  
*passim*; and Sir Fopling Flutter's description of the orange-  
 wench, whom he salutes with the pretty phrase of *Double-*  
*tripe*, Spectator, No. 65. Dromio's account of Nell the kit-  
 chen-wench, Shakespeare's Comedy of Errors; and Bulwer's  
 Artificial Changeling, sc. 24. p. 480, &c.

That pass in sale, from *Hand to Hand*,  
 Among ourselves, for *current Land* :  
 And rise or fall, like Indian Actions,  
*According to the rate of factions.*

Our best reserve for Reformation, 885  
 When *new Out-goings* give occasion :  
 That keeps the loins of brethren girt,  
 The Covenant (their Creed) t' assert :  
 And when th' have pack'd a parliament,  
 Will once more try th' expedient : 890  
 Who can already muster friends,  
 To serve for members, to our ends,

ψ. 883. *And rise or fall, like Indian actions.*] Alluding probably to the subscription set on foot at the general court at the East-India house, October 19, 1657. *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 387. p. 56, &c.

ψ. 888. *The Covenant (their Creed) t' assert.*] The author of *Lex Talionis*, (printed in the year 1647, p. 3. Publ. Libr. Cambridge, xix. 9. art. 3.) takes the following freedom with the Covenant: "Give me leave to tell you what your Covenant was at first, and what it is now: it was first, by virtue of enchantment, a lousy thread-bare Scots chaplain, who growing weary of the slender stipend of a bare Scotch mark *per annum*, came over into England to seek its farther advancement, where it became a tub-preacher; and so, rendering itself capable of holy orders, did take upon it to teach and preach upon its own accord."

"The first attempt by which this covenant sought to ingratiate itself into the people, was by consummating a marriage betwixt the Committees: the match was privately contracted in the close Committee, and afterwards solemnly published by legislative power; which marriage being thus accomplished, without the approbation of his majesty, without the license of our church, and without consent of our laws, I doubt not but it may be made null by a bill of divorce. And for the farther punishment of your covenant, let it be banished out of this kingdom for ever, and let it be confined to the utmost part of Scotland, there to pine and waste itself away upon its own dunghill."

That represent no part o' th' nation,  
 But Fisher's-Folly congregation;  
 Are only tools to our intrigues, 895  
 And fit like geese, to hatch your eggs,  
 Who, by their precedents of wit,  
 T' out-fast, out-loiter, and out-sit,  
 Can order matters under-hand,  
 To put all bus'ness to a stand : 900  
 Lay Public Bills aside, for Private,  
 And make 'em one another drive out;  
 Divert the *Great and Necessary*,  
 With trifles to contest and vary;  
 And make the nation represent, 905  
 And serve for us, in Parliament;  
 Cut out more work than can be done  
 In Plato's year, but finish none;

ψ. 894. *But Fisher's-Folly congregation.*] Sir Roger L'Estrange (Key to Hudibras) observes, That a meeting-house was built by one Fisher a shoemaker, which at the Restoration was pulled down by some of the Loyalists; and then lying useless, it was called *Fisher's folly*. But he is mistaken; for Dr Fuller (Worthies, 1662, p. 197.) explaining some London proverbs, amongst the rest, has the two following lines;

“ Kirby's castle, and Megse's glory;

“ Spinola's pleasure, and Fisher's folly.”

And observes (from Stowe's Survey, p. 175.) “ That the last “ was built by Jasper Fisher, free of the goldsmiths' company, one of the six clerks in chancery, and a justice of “ the peace, who, being a man of no great wealth, (as indebted to many), built here a beautiful house, with gardens of pleasure, and bowling-alleys about it, called *Devonshire-house* at this day.”

ψ. 898. T' out-fast.] Dr South observes, (Sermons, vol. iv. p. 175.) “ That their fasts usually lasted from seven in the “ morning till seven at night; that the pulpit was always “ the emptiest thing in the church; and there was never “ such a fast kept by them, but their hearers had cause to “ begin a thanksgiving as soon as they had done.”

ψ. 907. *Cut out more work, &c.*] \* Plato's year, or the

Unless it be the bulls of Lenthal,  
 That always pass'd for *fundamental* ; 910  
 Can set up Grandee against Grandee,  
 To squander *Time away*, and *bandy*;  
 Make *Lords and Commoners* lay sieges  
 To one another's Privileges ;  
 And, rather than compound the quarrel, 915  
 Engage, to th' inevitable peril  
 Of both their ruins ; th' only scope  
 And consolation of our hope :  
 Who, though we do not play the game,  
 Assist as much by giving aim ; 920  
 Can introduce our ancient arts,  
 For heads of factions, t' act their parts ;  
 Know what a *leading voice* is worth,  
 A *seconding*, a *third*, or *fourth* ;  
 How much a *casting voice* comes to, 925  
 That turns up *trump*, of *Ay*, or *No* ;  
 And by adjusting all at th' end,  
 Share ev'ry one his dividend.

grand revolution of the entire machine of the world, was accounted 4000 years.

¶. 909. — *the bulls of Lenthal.* ] Mr Lenthal was speaker to that House of Commons which begun the rebellion, murdered the King, (becoming then but the Rump, or fag-end of a house), and was turned out by Oliver Cromwell; restored after Richard was outed, and at last dissolved themselves at General Monk's command: and as his name was set to the ordinances of this house, these ordinances are here called the *bulls of Lenthal*, in allusion to the Pope's bulls, which are humorously described by the author of *A Tale of a Tub*, p. 99.

¶. 923. *Know what a leading voice is worth, &c.* ] Ben Johnson merrily observes, (*Discoveries*, edit. 1640, p. 95.) "That suffrages in Parliament are numbered, not weighed; nor can it be otherwise in those public councils, where nothing is so unequal as the inequality: for there, how odd soever mens brains or wisdom are, their power is always even and the same."



An art that so much study cost,  
 And now's in danger to be lost, 930  
 Unless our ancient Virtuosos,  
 That found it out, *get into th' houses.*  
 These are the courses that we took  
 To carry things by Hook or Crook ;  
 And practis'd down from forty-four, 935  
 Until they turn'd us *out of door* :  
 Besides the herds of *Boute feus*,  
 We set on work, without the house ;  
 When ev'ry Knight and Citizen  
 Kept *legislative journey-men*, 940  
 To bring them in intelligence,  
 From all points of the rabbles sense ;  
 And fill the lobbies of both houses  
 With politic important buzzes :  
 Set up committees of Cabals, 945  
 To pack designs without the walls ;  
 Examine, and draw up all news,  
 And fit it to our present use.

Ψ. 932.—*get into th' houses.*] Alluding to the secluded members, who endeavour'd to get into the house when Richard Cromwell was set aside, and the Rump restor'd, 1659. (See Echard's History of England, vol. II. p. 842.) Sir Gilbert Gerard on this occasion brought an action against Colonel Alured, for denying him admission. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. II. p. 841.

Ψ. 934.—*by Hook or Crook.*] Judge Crook and Hutton were the two judges who dissented from their ten brethren in the case of ship-money, when it was argued in the Exchequer ; (see Echard, vol. II. p. 128.) which occasioned the Wags to say, that the King carried it by Hook, but not by Crook. See Sancho's way of explaining this expression, Don Quixote, vol. IV. chap. lxxiii. p. 718.

Ψ. 945. *Set up committees of Cabals.*] A sneer probably upon Clifford, Ashley, Burlington, Arlington, Lauderdale, who were call'd the CABAL in King Charles the II's time, from the initial letters of their names. See Echard vol. iii. p. 251.

Agree upon the plot *o' th' farce*,  
 And ev'ry one his *part rehearse*. 950  
 Make q's of answers, to way-lay  
 What th' other parties like to say :  
 What Repartees, and *smart reflections*,  
 Shall be return'd to all objections ;  
 And who shall break the Master-jest, 955  
 And what, and how, *upon the rest* :  
 Help pamphlets out, with safe editions  
 Of proper slanders and seditions :  
*And treason for a token send*,  
 By letter to a country friend ; 960  
 Disperse Lampoons, the only wit  
 That men, like Burglary, *commit* ;  
 With falser than a Padder's Face,  
 That all its owner does betrays ;  
 Who therefore dares not trust it, when 965  
 He's in his calling to be seen.  
 Disperse the dung on barren earth,  
 To bring new weeds of Discord forth ;  
 Be sure to keep up Congregations,  
 In spight of Laws and Proclamations : 970  
 For Chiarlatans can do no good,  
 Until they're mounted in a crowd ;

y. 961, 962. *Disperse Lampoons, the only wit—That men, like Burglary, commit.*] Lampoon in French signifies a drunken song: and to Lampoon one, is to treat him with ridicule in a libel or satire, which is compared here to burglary; as being published clandestinely, and without a name.

y. 969, 970. *Be sure to keep up Congregations,—In spight of Laws and Proclamations.*] See an account of the King's proclamations against their keeping up conventicles in the years 1668, 1669. Echard's History of England, vol. III. p. 224. 238. And their manner of eluding them, George Fox's Journal, p. 314.

y. 971. *For Chiarlatans can do no good.*] Charlatan is an

And when they're punish'd, all the hurt  
 Is but to fare the better for't;  
 As long as Confessors are sure 975  
 Of double pay for all th' endure;  
 And what they earn in persecution,  
 Are paid t' a groat in Contribution.  
 Whence some *Tab-Holders-forth* have made  
 In Powd'ring-Tubs their richest trade : 980  
 And, while they kept their shops in prison,  
 Have found their prices strangely risen.  
 Disdain to own the least regret  
 For all the Christian Blood w' have let;  
 'Twill save our credit, and maintain 985  
 Our title to do so again:  
 That needs not cost one dram of sense,  
 But *pertinacious impudence*.  
 Our constancy t' our principles,  
 In time will wear out all things else : 990  
 Like marble statues, rubb'd in pieces,  
 With gallantry of pilgrims kisses :  
 While those who turn and wind their oaths,  
 Have swell'd and sunk, like other froths;  
 Prevail'd a while, but 'twas not long 995  
 Before from *World to World they swung* :

Empyric, or Quack, who retails his medicines on a public stage. Tom Coryat observes, (*Crudities*, p. 274.) that Ciarlatanoes, or Ciarlatans, in Latin are called *Circulatores*, and *Agyrtæ*; from the Greek word ἀγυρᾶν, which signifies to draw company together, for which Venice was very famous. See more, *Pancirolli de Reb. Memorab. Par. Post. Tit. 1.* p. 50. Chambers's Cyclopaedia.

Y. 995, 996. *Prevail'd a while, but 'twas not long—Before from World to World they swung.*] Dr South remarks upon the Regicides, (Sermon on the 29th of May, vol. v. p. 275.) "That so sure did they make of heaven, and so fully  
 "reckoned themselves in the high road thither, that they  
 "never so much as thought that their Saintships should take  
 "Tyburn in the way."

As they had turn'd from side to side,  
And as the changlings liv'd, they dy'd.

This said, th' impatient States-monger  
Could now contain himself no longer ; 1000  
Who had not spar'd to shew his piques  
Against th' Harranguer's Politics,  
With smart remarks, of *leering faces*,  
And annotations of Grimaces.  
After h' had administer'd a dose 1005  
Of Snuff-Mundungus to his nose,

ψ. 1004.—*Grimasbes*.] First edit. 1674. alter'd 1684.

ψ. 1005. *After h' had administer'd a dose—Of Snuff-Mundungus to his nose*.] From hence 'tis plain how long that foolish and pernicious custom of snuff-taking has prevailed here in England: which is merrily exposed by Dr Baynard. (History of cold Baths, part ii. p. 198.) "And now (says he) another nasty snuffling invention is lately set on foot, which is snuff-taking, which hangs on their nostrils, &c. as if it were the excrements of maggots tumbled from the head through the nose.—I have read, I think it is in Sir John Chardin's travels, that there is a kingdom in the East-Indies, call'd Botan, where the subjects hold the prince in such esteem and reverence, that they dry and powder his excrements, and use it as a great rarity to strew on meats, and garnish dishes with, as we do ours with grated bread, nutmeg, &c.—And I vow, I never see a snuff-box in a man's hand, but I think of a Botanian, &c." Montaigne observes, (Essays, vol. I. chap. xii. p. 135.) "That there is a nation (alluding probably to Botan) where the most eminent persons about the King stoop to take up his ordure in a linnen cloth."

Misson (New Voyages to Italy, vol. II. p. 12.) takes notice of an order of the Pope's, that no one should take snuff at church, with the reason why. The Tatler, No. 35. gives this philosophical reason for taking snuff: "That it is done only to supply with sensation, the want of reflection." (See the practice exposed, Spectator 344.) The Spaniards think more favourably of the practice, and present snuff as a token of friendship. Lady's Travels into Spain, part 3. p. 269.

And powder'd th' inside of his skull,  
 Instead of th' outward Jobbernowl,  
 He shook it, with a scornful look  
 On th' adversary, and thus he spoke : 1010  
     In dressing a calves head, altho'  
 The tongue and brains together go,  
 Both keep so great a distance here,  
 'Tis strange if ever they come near ;  
 For who did ever play his gambols, 1015  
 With such insufferable rambles ?  
 To make the bringing in the King,  
 And keeping of him out, one thing !  
 Which none could do, but those that swore  
 T' as point-blank nonsense heretofore : 1020  
 That to defend, was to invade,  
 And to assassinate, to aid :

ψ. 1007. *And powder'd th' inside of his soul.*] In the first edition of 1678. alter'd to skull, 1684, four years after Mr Butler's death.

ψ. 1008.—*outward Jobbernowl.*] The same with Great-head, Jolter-head, Leger-head. See Jobbernowl and Nowl, *Skinneri Etymologicon. Junii Etymolog. Anglican.* Nowl, a word often used by the translator of Rabelais.

ψ. 1021, 1022. *That to defend, was to invade,—And to assassinate, to aid.*] This is a sneer upon Serjeant Wild, who was sent to Winchester to try Rolf, against whom Osborne and Doucet swore positively to his design of assassinating the King. The serjeant being bribed to favour and bring him off, observed, upon their evidence, to the jury, "That it was a business of great importance that was before them; and that they should take heed what they did in it: that there was a time indeed when intentions and words were made treason, (words were made treason without acts, 1649. *History of Independency*, part iii. p. 46.) but God forbid it should be so now. How did any body know, but that those two men, Osborne and Doucet, would have made away the King, and that Rolf charg'd his pistol to preserve him?" (Lord Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. III. p. 180.) See Walker's *History of Independency*.



Unless, because you drove him out,  
(And that was never made a doubt)

No pow'r is able to restore 1025

And bring him in, but on your score.

A spiritual doctrine, that conduces

Most properly to all your uses.

'Tis true, *A scorpion's oil is said*

To cure the wounds the vermine made; 1030

And weapons drest with salves, restore

And heal the hurts they gave before:

But whether Presbyterians have

So much good nature as the Salve,

Or Virtue in them as the Vermine, 1035

Those who have try'd them can determine.

gency, part i. p. 76. This Rolf was a shoemaker, or one of the gentle craft. History of Independency, part i. p. 120.

ψ. 1029, 1030. —A scorpion's oil is said—To cure the wounds the vermine made.] This is mentioned as a thing certain by Sir Kenelm Digby, (Discourse concerning the Cure of Wounds by Sympathy), and by Mouset. "Medentur enim formicae, ut scorpiones suis moribus, et cum malo medelam pariter afferunt." (*Insectorum Theatr. lib. 2. cap. xvi. p. 246.*) "Oleum Scorpionum, S. Bernardi oleum vocatur—Pestini inunctum valet contra morsus quoscunque venenatos." (*Insector. Theatr. lib. II. c. x. p. 209.*) See Philosophical Transactions, vol. XXXIX. No. 443. p. 318. Dr Mead's Mechanical Operations of Poisons. It was observed of Athenagoras, a Grecian, that he never felt pain from the bite of a scorpion, nor the sting of the spider. *Sexti Philosophi Pyrrhon. Hypotip. lib. i. p. 17.*

ψ. 1031, 1032. And Weapons drest'd with Salves, restore,—And heal the hurts they gave before.] Here again he sneers the *weapon salve*. For the manner of applying it, see Sir Kenelm Digby's Discourse of the Cure of Wounds by Sympathy, p. 148. Mr George Sandys's Notes upon Ovid's Metamorphoses, b. xii. p. 230. from the receipt in Grollius's Dispensatory, taken from Paracelsus. Fludd's Defence of the Weapon Salve, *passim*. Shakespeare's Tempest, republished by Mr Dryden, act v, sc. 2.

Indeed, 'tis pity you should miss  
 Th' Arrears of all your Services,  
 And for th' eternal obligation  
 Y' have laid upon th' ungrateful nation, 1040  
 Be us'd so unconscionably hard,  
 As not to find a just reward,  
 For letting rapine loose, and murder,  
 To rage just so far, *but no further*;  
 And setting all the land on fire, 1045  
 To burn t' a scantling, *but no higher* :  
 For vent'ring to assassinate,  
 And cut the throats of *Church and State*;  
 And not be allow'd the fittest men  
 To take the charge of both agen : 1050  
 Especially, that have the grace  
 Of self-denying, Gifted Face ;  
 Who, when your projects have miscarry'd,  
 Can lay them, with undaunted forehead,  
 On those you painfully trepann'd, 1055  
 And *sprinkled in at second hand* :

ψ. 1045, 1046. *And setting all the land on fire,—To burn t' a scantling, but no higher.*] Mention is made of a humorous countryman, who bought a barn in partnership with a neighbour of his, and not making use of his part, when his neighbour filled his with corn and hay, his neighbour expostulating with him upon laying out his money so fruitlessly: "Pray, neighbour, (says he), never trouble your head; you may do what you will with your part of the barn; but I'll set mine on fire."

ψ. 1053, 1054, 1055. *Who, when your projects have miscarry'd,—Can lay them, with undaunted forehead,—On those you painfully trepann'd.*] Mr Walker charges the Independent faction, (Second Part of the History of Independency, p. 42.) "That by an impudent fallacy, called *Translatio Criminis*, they laid their brats at other mens' doors."

ψ. 1056. *And sprinkled in at second hand.*] Alluding to

As we have been, to share the guilt  
 Of Christian blood, devoutly spilt ;  
 For so our ignorance was flamm'd  
 To damn ourselves, t' avoid being damn'd : 1060  
 Till finding your old foe, the hangman,  
 Was like to lurch you at Back-Gammon,  
 And win your necks upon the set,  
 As well as ours, who did but bet ;  
 (For he had drawn your ears before, 1065  
 And *nick'd them* on the self-same score)  
 We threw the box and dice away,  
 Before y' had lost us, at *foul play* ;  
 And brought you down to Rook, and Lie,  
 And *fancy only, on the by* ; 1070  
 Redeem'd your forfeit jobbernoles,  
 From perching upon lofty poles ;  
 And rescu'd all your *outward traitors*,  
 From hanging up, like Aligators :  
 For which ingeniously y' have shew'd 1075  
 Your Presbyterian gratitude :  
 Would freely have paid us home in kind,  
 And not have been one Rope behind.  
 Those were your motives to divide,  
 And scruple, on the other side, 1080

their manner of baptising, or admitting members into their churches, in opposition to the practice of the Anabaptists.

At Watlington in Oxfordshire, there was a sect called *Anointers*, from their anointing people before they admitted them into their communion. Dr Plot's Oxfordshire, ch. xxxviii. sect. 32.

Y. 1065. *For he had drawn your ears before,—And nick'd them on the self-same score.*] Alluding to the case of Mr Pryn, who had his ears cropped twice for his seditious writings.

Y. 1074. *From hanging up, like Aligators.*] Aligators are of the crocodile kind, and are frequently hung up in the shops of druggists and apothecaries.

To turn your zealous frauds and force,  
 To fits of conscience and remorse :  
 To be convinc'd they were in vain,  
 And face about for new again :  
 For truth no more unveil'd your eyes, 1085  
 Than maggots are convinc'd to flies :  
 And therefore all your Lights and Calls  
 Are but *apocryphal*, and *false*,  
 To charge us with the consequences  
 Of all your native insolences ; 1090  
 That to your own *imperious wills*  
*Laid Law and Gospel neck and heels :*  
*Corrupted the Old Testament,*  
*To serve the New for precedent,*  
*T' amend its errors and defects,* 1095  
*With murder and rebellion-texts :*  
 Of which there is not any one  
 In all the book to sow upon ;  
 And therefore (from your tribe) the Jews  
 Held Christian doctrine forth, and use ; 1100  
 As Mahomet (your chief) began  
 To mix them in the Alchoran :

ψ. 1086. *Than maggots are convinc'd to flies.*] Thus it stands in all editions to 1710 exclusive, and then altered *Than maggots when they turn to flies.*

ψ. 1093. *Corrupted the Old Testament.*] This was done by a fanatical printer, in the Seventh Commandment; who printed it, *Thou shalt commit adultery*, and was fined for it in the Star-Chamber, or High-Commission Court. See Archbishop Laud's Trial and Troubles; and Spectator.

ψ. 1101, 1102. *As Mahomet (your chief) began—To mix them in the Alchoran.*] Mahomet was so ignorant, that he could neither write nor read; yet in drawing up the Koran, (commonly called the *Alchoran*), though he was born and bred a Pagan, “He associated to himself a learned Jew born “in Persia, a rabbin in his sect, whom Elmacin called by “the name of *Salman*; (Dr Prideaux, Abdallah Ebn Salem)

Denounc'd and pray'd, with fierce devotion,  
And bended elbows on the cushion ;

" but the greatest assistance he received was by a Nestorian Monk, called by the Wellern historians *Sergius*, and by the Eastern *Bahira*, an apostate, who had been expelled his monastery for his disorderly life. Such were the architects whom Mahomet employed for the erecting the new system which he projected: the Jew furnished him with various histories from the Old Testament, blended with the chimaeras and dreams of the Talmud, out of which Mahomet, in order to heighten the marvellous, picked out some fabulous circumstances of his own inventing, which are still to be seen in the Alchoran: and the Nestorian Monk at the same time brought him acquainted with the New Testament, and the discipline of the church. All this he changed and corrupted with fables, which he borrowed from the Pseudo-gospels, and Apocryphal books; and it is manifest that he was not unacquainted with the history of the infancy of Jesus, and the family of the Virgin Mary." Abbe Vertot's Discourse of the Alchoran: History of the Knights of Malta, in folio, edit. 1728. p. 43, &c. See more, *Carionis Chronic. de Alchorano*, lib. iii. p. 277. folio edition, 1580. Baumgarten's Travels. Churchill's Voyages, &c. vol. i. p. 431. edit. 1732. Walker's History of Independency, part i. p. 27. Mahmut the Turkish Spy defends it, vol. vii. book 4. letter 6.

" Come, Mahomet, thy turn is next,

" New gospel's out of date;

" The Alcoran may prove good text

" In our new Turkish state.

" Thou dost unto thy priests allow

" The sin of full four wives;

" Ours scarce will be content with now

" Five livings, and nine lives:

" Thy saints and ours are all alike,

" Their virtues flow from vice:

" No bliss they do believe and seek,

" But an earthly paradise.

" A heaven on earth they hope to gain;

" But we do know full well,

" Could they their glorious ends attain,

" This kingdom must be hell."

*Mercur. Pragmat. No. ii. April 11. 1648.*



Stole from the beggars *all your tones*; 1105  
 And gifted mortifying Groans;  
 Had lights where better eyes were blind,  
 As pigs are said to see the wind:  
 Fill'd Bedlam with predestination,  
 And Knight's-bridge with illumination: 1110  
 Made children, with your tones, to run for't,  
 As bad as Bloody-bones or Lunsford.

Y. 1108. *As pigs are said to see the wind.*] See Hudibras at Court, Posthumous Works, p. 213.

Y. 1109. *Fill'd Bedlam with predestination.*] Alluding to Oliver's Porter. See Lesley's Snake in the grass, L'Estrange's reflection upon the fable of the Bat-bramble and Cormorant, part i. fab. 144.

Y. 1112. — *or Lunsford.*] It was one of the artifices of the malecontents in the civil war to raise false alarms, and to fill the people full of frightful apprehensions. In particular, they raised a terrible outcry of the imaginary danger they conceived from the Lord Digby, and Colonel Lunsford. Lilburn glories upon his trial, for being an incendiary on such occasions, and mentions the tumult he raised against the innocent Colonel, as a meritorious action: "I was once arraigned (says he) before the House of Peers, for sticking close to the liberties and privileges of this nation, and those that stood for them, being one of those two or three men that first drew their swords in Westminster-Hall against Colonel Lunsford, and some scores of his associates. At that time it was supposed they intended to cut the throats of the chiefest men then sitting in the House of Peers." And to render him the more odious, they reported that he was of so brutal an appetite, that he would eat children, (Echard's History of England, vol. ii. p. 286.) which scandalous insinuation is deservedly ridiculed in the following lines:

"From Fielding, and from Vavasour,  
 "Both ill-affected men;  
 "From Lunsford eke deliver us,  
 "That eateth up children."

The Parliament Hymns, Collection of Loyal Songs,  
 vol. I. No. xvii. p. 38.

While women, great with child, miscarry'd,  
 For being to malignants marry'd :  
 Transform'd all wives to Dalilahs, 1115  
 Whose husbands were not for the Cause :  
 And turn'd the men to ten horn'd cattle,  
 Because they went not out to battle :  
 Made taylors' 'prentices turn heroes,  
 For fear of being transform'd to Meroz; 1120

Cleveland banters them upon the same head:

"The post that came from Banbury,

"Riding in a blue rocket,

"He swore he saw, when Lunsford fell,

"A child's arm in his pocket."

And to make this gentleman the more detestable, they made horrid pictures of him, as we learn from the following lines of Mr Cleveland. *Rupertismus*, Works, 1677, p. 67.

"They fear the giblets of his train, they fear

"Even his dog, that four-legg'd Cavalier;

"He that devours the scraps which Lunsford makes,

"Whose picture feeds upon a child in stakes."

Mr Gayton, in banter of this idle opinion, (see Notes on Don Quixote, book III. chap. vi. p. 103.) calls Saturn, the very *Lunsford of the deities*. They might as well have ascribed to him the appetite of the giant Wide-nostrials, who swallowed windmills with their sails; (Rabelais, vol. I. book iv. chap. 17.) or the famous Zyto, (conjurer to Wenceslaus, son to the Emperor Charles IV.) who, upon a trial of skill at the Duke of Bavaria's court, swallowed the Duke's principal conjurer, with all he had about him, his dirty shoes excepted; and then, for the diversion of the company, ran with him to a large tub of water, and launched him out to the middle of it. *Vide Historia Boiemicæ, lib. xxiii.* p. 221, 222. a *fo. Dubravio Episcopo Olomuzensi, Basilea, 1575.* Camerarius's Living Library, London, 1621. p. 266. Turkish Spy, vol. IV. book iv. chap. 9. Plain Dealer, published 1734, vol. i. No. 23. Colonel Lunsford, after all, was a person of extraordinary sobriety, industry and courage, and was killed at the taking of Bristol by the King in 1643. See Echard's History of England, vol. ii. p. 425.

ψ. 1120. ———transform'd to Meroz.] That text in

And rather forfeit their indentures,  
 Than not espouse the saints adventures :  
 Could transubstantiate, metamorphose,  
 And charm whole herds of beasts, like Orpheus :  
*Inchant the King's, and Church's Lands,* 1123  
*T' obey, and follow your commands;*

Judges v. 28. *Curse ye Meroz, said the Angel of the Lord; curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof; because they came not to the help of the Lord against the mighty,—* The Rebellious Preachers were wont to sound often in the ears of the people, to make them imagine they should fall under a grievous curse, if they, as many at least as were fit to make soldiers, did not list into the parliament army, to fight, what these hypocritical rebels call'd, *The Lord's battles against the Mighty*; that was the King and all his friends. (Dr B.) Stephen Marshall preached a seditious sermon before the Commons, Feb. 13, 1641. from that text, entitled, *Meroz curs'd (penes me)*, to which probably Mr Butler alludes: or to Mr Horton's Fast Sermon before the Peers, December 30. p. 8. See a Century of eminent Presbyterian Preachers, 1723. p. 41.

“ Then curse ye Meroz, in each pulpit did thunder,  
 “ To perplex the poor people, and keep them in wonder  
 “ Till all the reins of government were quite broken  
 “ asunder.”

A song, entitled, *The Rump serv'd in with a grand Sallad*, Stan. 16. Collection of Loyal Songs, reprinted 1731. vol. II. p. 179.

The Scots (in their Declaration, August 10. concerning their Expedition into England, p. 8, 9.) say, “ The Lord “ save us from the curse of Meroz, who came not to help “ the Lord against the Mighty.” How careful they and their English Brethren were to keep all others from that curse, appears from the declaration of both kingdoms, 1643. p. 6. “ We give (say they) public warning to such persons “ to rest no longer upon their neutrality—but to take the “ covenant, and join with all their power—otherwise we “ do declare them to be public enemies to their religion and “ country, and that they are to be censured and punished “ as professed adversaries and malignants.” Fowlis's Hist. of Wicked Plots, &c. edit. 2d. p. 178, 224.

And settle on a new freehold,  
 As Marcly-Hill had done of old :  
 Could turn the Covenant, and translate  
 The Gospel into spoons and plate : 1130  
 Expound upon all Merchants-Cashies,  
 And open th' intricateſt places :  
 Could catechize a money-box,  
 And prove all pouches orthodox;  
 Until the Cause became a Damon, 1135  
 And Pythias the wicked Mammon.

ψ. 1127, 1128. *And settle on a new freehold,—As Marcly-Hill had done of old.*] “Near the conflux of the Lug and Wye (Herefordshire) eastward, a hill which they call *Marcly-Hill*, did, in the year 1575, rouse itself as it were out of sleep, and for three days together shoving its prodigious body forward, with a horrible roaring noise, and overturning every thing in its way, raised itself, to the great astonishment of the beholders, to a higher place, by that kind of earthquake, I suppose, which naturalists call *Brasmatia*.” Camden’s *Britannia*, edit. 1722. col. 691. Stowe’s *Chronicle*, continued by Howes, p. 667.

A like account we meet with of Blackmore in Dorsetshire, in the year 1587. (Stowe, *ibid.* p. 695.); and at Westram in Kent, 1599, (Stowe, *ibid.* p. 782.) of the fall of one of the highest mountains amongst the Grisons by an earthquake, in the year 1618, which overwhelmed a burrough, or little town, called *Pleara*, and swallowed up the inhabitants; so that there was not any trace or sign left of the place. Perri- val’s *History of the Iron Age*, part i. p. 88. And the sinking down of part of a hill near Clogher in Ireland, March 10, 1712-3. *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. xxviii. p. 267. And of the uncommon sinking of the earth at Folkestone in Kent, 1716. *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. XXIX. No. cccxlix. p. 469, &c. And the hill of Scarborough is fresh in memory. See accounts of the like kind, *Plinii Nat. Hist.* lib. ii. cap. 83. *Gryphiandri de Insulis: Casu Symplegadam Insular.* cap. xxxi. p. 513. *Alstedii Thesaur. Chronologic.* anno 1241. cap. xxxii. p. 306. edit. 1618. *Mercurius Politicus*, No. ccclxxii. p. 7935.

ψ. 1135, 1136. *Until the Cause became a Damon,—And Pythias the wicked Mammon.*] Damon and Pythias were

And yet, in spite of all your charms  
 To conjure Legion up in arms,  
 And raise more devils in the Rout  
 Than e'er y' were able to cast out, 1140  
 Y' have been reduc'd, and by those fools,  
 Bred up (you say) in your own schools;  
 Who though but gifted at your feet,  
 Have made it plain they have more wit:  
 By whom you have been so oft trepann'd, 1145  
*And held forth out of all command,*  
*Out-gifted, out-impuls'd, out-done,*  
*And out-reveal'd at Carryings-on.*  
*Of all your Dispensations worm'd,*  
*Out-providenc'd, and out-reform'd;* 1150  
*Ejected out of Church and State,*  
*And all things, but the peoples' hate;*  
*And spirited out of th' enjoyments*  
*Of precious, edifying Employments,*  
*By those who lodg'd their Gifts and Graces,* 1155  
*Like better Bowlers, in your Places;*  
 All which you bore with resolution,  
 Charg'd on th' account of persecution;

two of Pythagoras's followers. When Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse, had condemned one of them to die, he begged a few days to set his house in order, and the other willingly offered himself in the mean-while to stay as pledge, and to die instead of his friend, if he returned not at the time appointed: but he came according to appointment to suffer death himself, and thereby to acquit his friend, that had engaged for his return. When the tyrant saw this faithfulness in their friendship, he pardoned him that was condemned to die, and desired that he might be admitted as a third person in their friendship. (*Valer. Maxim. lib. xx. cap. 7. De Amicitia, p. 412. edit. varior. 1651.*) See the friendship of Nisus and Euryalus, *Virg. Aeneid. lib. 9.*

*His amor unus erat, pariterque in bello ruebant, &c.*



And though most righteously oppress't,  
*Against your wills, still acquiesc't;* 1160  
 And never Hum'd and Ha'd Sedition,  
 Nor snuffled Treason, nor Misprision.  
 That is, because you never durst;  
 For had you *preach'd* and *pray'd your worst*,  
 Alas! you were no longer able 1165  
 To raise your Posse of the Rabble:  
 One single red-coat sentinel  
 Out-charm'd the magic of *the spell*:  
 And, with his Squirt-fire, could disperse  
 Whole troops, with chapter rais'd, and verse: 1170

ψ. 1162. *Nor snuffled Treason.*] Alluding to those treasonable sermons before the two Houses, from 1641 to 1648, in number between two and three hundred.

Mr Butler, in his Geneva Ballad, girds them for speaking through the nose, Remains, 1727, p. 46.

"To draw in proselytes, like bees,  
 "With pleasing twang, he tones his prose,  
 "He gives his handkerchief a squeeze,  
 "And draws John Calvin through his nose."

And in his poem entitled, *Oliver's Court*, (Remains):

"If he be one of the eating tribe,  
 "Both a Pharisee and Scribe;  
 "And hath learn'd the sniveling tone  
 "Of a flux'd devotion,  
 "Cursing from his swearing tub  
 "The Cavaliers to Belzebub;  
 "Let him repair," &c.

Sir Roger L'Estrange distinguishes between the religion of the heart, and that of the nose. Declaration of the City to the Men at Westminster. L'Estrange's Apology, p. 40.

ψ. 1167, 1168. *One single red-coat sentinel—Out-charm'd the magic of the spell.*] Sir Roger L'Estrange (Reflection on the Fable of a Sheep and a Crow, part i. fab. 77.) in his observation upon the mob, says, "That they are tongue-valiant, and as bold as Hercules, where they know there's no danger; but throw a volley of shot amongst them, and they have not the courage of so many hares."

We knew too well those tricks of yours,  
 To leave it ever in your powers;  
 Or trust our Safeties, or Undoings,  
 To your *disposing of Out-goings*;  
 Or to your ordering Providence, 1175  
 One farthing's-worth of consequence.

For had you pow'r to undermine,  
 Or wit to carry a design,  
 Or correspondence to trepan,  
 Inviegle, or betray one man; 1180  
 There's nothing else that intervenes,  
 And bars your zeal to use the means;  
 And therefore wond'rous like, no doubt,  
 To bring in Kings, or keep them out :  
 Brave undertakers to *restore*, 1185

That cou'd not keep yourselves in pow'r :  
 T' advance the int'rests of the Crown,  
 That wanted wit to keep your own.  
 'Tis true, you have (for I'd be loth,  
 To wrong ye) done your parts in both, 1190  
 To keep him out, and bring him in,

*As grace is introduc'd by sin :*  
 For 'twas your zealous want of sense,  
 And *sanctify'd impertinence*;

Your carrying business in a huddle, 1195  
 That forc'd our rulers to new-model;  
 Oblig'd the state to tack about,  
 And turn you, root and branch, all out;  
 To Reformado, one and all,  
 T' your great Croyfado General. 1200

ψ. 1191. *To keep him out, and bring him in.*] See the Presbyterians notably girded upon this head. Sir Roger L'Estrange's moral to Fable, 240. 2d part, entitled, The Fool makes the music.

ψ. 1199, 1200. *To Reformado, one and all,—T' your great Croyfado General.*] It was demanded in the army's remon-

Your greedy slav'ring to devour,  
Before 'twas in your clutches' pow'r,

strances, and printed papers, "That all reformed-officers, "soldiers and forces in and about London, or elsewhere, "not actually in the army's power, may be immediately "dispersed; the old city and parliament-guards removed, "and a new strong guard of horse and foot, presently sent "from the army to secure the city and Tower of London, "and the Commons House." The total and final Demands already made by, and to be expected from the Agitators and Army, p. 7. London, 1647.

By *Croisado General*, General Fairfax is intended, who laid down his commission when, in the year 1650, it was proposed to him to march against the Scots; (see Echard's History of England, vol. ii. p. 690.) upon which the Rump settled on him 5000 l. *per ann.* Ludlow's Memoirs, edit. 1698, vol. i. p. 316.

Mr Cleveland (in his Character of a London Diurnal) observes upon him as follows: "The greatest wonder is at "Fairfax, how he came to be a babe of grace: certainly it "is not in his personal, but (as the state-sophies distinguish) "in his politic capacity; regenerated *ab extra* by the zeal "of the house he sat in, as chickens are hatched at Grand "Cairo, by the adoption of an oven."

"Will Fool \* was counted the worst of the twain,  
"Till Tom Fool, Lord F—, the cause to maintain,  
"His honour and conscience did fearfully stain,  
"Which nobody can deny."

The Rump carbonado'd. Collection of Loyal Songs, vol. ii. p. 121.

General Fairfax is called the *Croisado General*, because religion was the first pretence to rebellion, and in allusion to the expedition of the Christians in the year 1196, to recover the Holy-Land from the infidel Saracens, at the instance of Pope Urban II. which was called the *croisade*. See an account of it, Life of Godfrey of Bullen, by Fairfax. Abbe Vertot's History of the Knights of Malta, vol. i. p. 9, 10, 11, &c. Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, by Mr Hearne, p. 392. Baker's History of the Inquisition, 1734, p. 5, &c. and an account of the Croisade of the Ladies at Genoa. Mission's New Voyages, &c. vol. i. p. 426, 427.

\* Sir W. Waller.

That sprung the game you were to set,  
 Before y' had time to draw the Net :  
 Your Spight to see the Church's Lands 1205  
 Divided into other hands,  
 And all your *sacrilegious Ventures*  
 Laid out in Tickets, and Debentures ;  
 Your Envy to be sprinkled down,  
 By Under Churches in the Town ; 1210  
 And no Course us'd to stop their Mouths,  
 Nor th' Independents' spreading growths :  
 All which consider'd, 'tis most true  
 None bring him in so much as you ;  
 Who have prevail'd beyond their plots, 1215  
 Their midnight Juntos, and *seal'd knots* ;  
 That thrive more by your zealous piques,  
 Than all their own rash politics.  
 And this way you may claim a share,  
 In carrying (as you brag) *th' affair* : 1220  
 Else frogs and toads, that croak'd the Jews  
 From Pharaoh, and his brick-kilns loose ;  
 And flies and mange, that set them free  
 From task-masters, and slavery,

Y. 1215, 1216. *Who have prevail'd beyond their plots, - Their midnight Juntos, and seal'd knots.*] This probably refers to their private cabals, or clubs : a knot of men, or club of men, is much the same ; and the word *knots*, rather than clubs, is used for the sake of the rhyme. He calls them *seal'd knots*, on account of the secrecy they were bound to keep. Dr B.

Y. 1221, 1222. *Else frogs and toads, that croak'd the Jews - From Pharaoh, and his brick-kilns loose.*] Alluding to one of the plagues in Egypt. See Exodus viii.

*Et veterem in limo rana cecinere querelam.*

*Virgilii Georgic. lib. i. 378.*

*Improbis ingluviem ranisque loquacibus explet.*

*Virgilii Georgic. lib. iii. 431.*

Were likelier to do the feat, 1225  
 In any indiff'rent man's conceit :  
 For who e'er heard of Restoration,  
 Until your *thorough Reformation*?  
 That is, the King's and Church's lands  
 Were sequester'd int' other hands: 1230  
 For only then, and not before,  
 Your eyes were open'd to restore.  
 And when the work was carrying on,  
 Who cross'd it, but yourselves alone ?  
 As by a world of hints appears, 1235  
 All plain, and extant, as your ears.

But first, o' th' first : The Isle of Wight  
 Will rise up, if you should deny't ;  
 Where Henderson, and th' other Masses,  
 Were sent to cap texts, and put cases: 1240

ψ. 1237, 1238, 1239, 1240. —*The Isle of Wight—Will rise up, if you should deny't ;—Where Henderson, and th' other Masses,—Were sent to cap texts, and put cases.* When the King, in the year 1646, was in the Scots army, the English Parliament sent him some propositions; one of which was the abolition of Episcopacy, and the setting up Presbytery in its stead. Mr Henderson, one of the chief of the Scotch Presbyterian ministers, was employed to induce the King to agree to this proposition, it being what his Majesty chiefly stuck at. Accordingly he came provided with books and papers for his purpose: the controversy was debated in writing, as well as by personal conference; and several papers passed between them, which have been several times published; from which it appears that the King, without books or papers, or any one to assist him, was an overmatch for this old champion of the Kirk, (and I think it will be no hyperbole, if I add, for all the then English and Scotch Presbyterian teachers put together), and made him so far a convert, that he departed with great sorrow to Edinburgh, with a deep sense of the mischief of which he had been the author and abetter; and not only lamented to his friends and confidants on his death-bed, which followed soon after, but likewise published a solemn declaration to the Parlia-



To pass for deep and learned Scholars,  
Although but paltry Ob and Sollers :

ment, and Synod of England, in which he owned, That they had been abused with most false aspersions against his Majesty, and that they ought to restore him to his full rights, royal throne, and dignity; lest an endless character of ingratitude lay upon them, that may turn to their ruin. As to the King himself, besides mentioning his justice, his magnanimity, his sobriety, his charity, and other virtues, he has these words: "I do declare before God, and the world, whether in relation to the Kirk, or state, I found his Majesty the most intelligent man that ever I spake with, as far beyond my expression as expectation.—I profess, I was oftentimes astonished with the quickness of his reasons and replies; wondered how he, spending his time in sports and recreations, could have attained to so great knowledge; and must confess, that I was convinced in conscience, and knew not how to give any reasonable satisfaction: yet the sweetness of his disposition is such, that whatever I said, was well taken. I must say, that I never met with any disputant of that mild and calm temper; which convince'd me, that his wisdom and moderation could not be without an extraordinary measure of divine grace. I dare say, if his advice had been followed, all the blood that is shed, and all the rapine that has been committed, would have been prevented."

Dr B.

Mr Butler is mistaken in saying that Henderson was one of the persons sent to dispute with the King in the Isle of Wight; for Mr Henderson died October 31. 1646. (Whitelock's Memorials, 2d edition, p. 221.) and the treaty at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, began Monday the 18th of September, 1648. (Echard's History of England, vol. ii. p. 611. Whitelock's Memorials, p. 337.) near two years after Mr Henderson's death.

§. 1241, 1242. *To pass for deep and learned scholars,—Although but paltry Ob and Sollers.*] *Ob and Sollers* are said by the annotator, to be "two ridiculous scribblers, that were often pestering the world with nonsense." Two scribblers that never wrote at all, or were known only to our annotator.

Whoever considers the context, will find that *Ob and Sollers* are designed as a character of Mr Henderson, and his

As if th' unseasonable fools  
 Had been a *coursing in the schools* :  
 Until th' had prov'd the Devil Author 1245  
 O' th' Covenant, and the Cause his Daughter.  
 For when they charg'd him with the guilt  
 Of all the blood that had been spilt,  
 They did not mean he *wrought th' effusion*,  
 In person, like Sir Pride, or Hewson ; 1250

fellow disputants, who are called *Masses*, (as Mas is an abridgement of Master), that is, young masters in divinity; and this character signifies something quite contrary to deep and learned scholars; particularly such as had studied controversies, as they are handled by little books, or systems, (of the Dutch and Geneva cut), where the authors represent their adversaries arguments by small objections, and subjoin their own pitiful solutions. In the margin of these books may be seen Ob and Sol. Such mushroom divines are ingeniously and compendiously called *Ob* and *Sollers*. Dr N.

" Next comes in Gold, that brazen face,

" If blust'ring be a sign of grace,

" The youth is in a woeful case :

" Whilst he should give us Sols and Obs,

" He brings us in some simple Bobs,

" And fathers them on Mr Hobs."

The Rota. See Collection of Loyal Songs, vol. ii. p. 217.

ψ. 1250. —like *Sir Pride*] Pride was a foundling, to which the following lines allude, (Col. of Loyal Songs, &c. vol. i. p. 181.)

" He, by Fortune's design, should have been a divine,

" And a pillar no doubt of the church ;

" Whom a sexton (God wot) in the belfry begot,

" And his mother did pig in the porch."

He had been a brewer, or rather a drayman; for which he is sneered by the same poet. *Id. id.* st. 5.

" But observe the devise of this nobleman's rise,

" How he hurried from trade to trade ;

" From the grains he'd aspire to the yeast, and then  
 higher ;

" Till at length he a drayman was made."

He went into the army, was made a colonel, and was prin-

But only those who first begun  
The quarrel, were by him set on.

cipally concerned in secluding the members, in order to the King's trial; which great change was called *Colonel Pride's Purge*. (See Echard's History of England, vol. ii. p. 621.) He was one of Oliver Cromwell's Upper-house. (See Second Narrative of the Parliament so called, p. 23. Walker's History of Independency, part ii. p. 252.) He is called *Thomas Lord Pride* in the commission for erecting a High-court of Justice, for the trial of Sir Henry Slingsby, Dr Hewit, &c. *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 413. p. 492. Mr Butler calls him *Sir Pride*, by way of sneer upon the manner of his being knighted: for Oliver Cromwell knighted him with a faggot-stick, instead of a sword. (See Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 587.) A Knighthood not much unlike that proposed by Ralph knight of the Burning-Pestle, (see Beaumont and Fletcher's play, so called, edition 1635, p. 32.) to the inn-keeper, in lieu of his reckoning:

*Ralph*. "Sir Knight, this mirth of yours becomes you well:

"But to requite this liberal curtesy,

"If any of your Squires will follow arms,

[Viz. *Chamberlains, Tapsters, and Ostlers.*

"He shall receive from my heroic hand

"A knighthood, by virtue of this pestle."

*Ibid.* — or *Hewson*.] He was a cobbler, went into the army, and was made a colonel, knighted by Oliver Cromwell, and, to help to cobble the crazy state of the nation, was made one of Oliver's Upper-house. (See 2d Narrative, &c. p. 23.) Sir Roger L'Estrange (see Fable of the Cobbler turned Doctor, 1st part, fab. 401. see likewise 2d part, fab. 37.) makes the following remark upon Hewson: "This minds me of a question a cobbling Colonel of famous memory (and he was a statesman of the long parliament edition) put to a Lady of quality in Ireland. She had been so terribly plundered, that the poor woman went almost bare-foot; and as she was warming her feet once in the chimney-corner, the Colonel took notice that her shoes wanted capping. Lord, Madam, (says he) why do ye wear no better shoes? Why, truly, Sir, (says she) all the cobblers are turned colonels, and I can get nobody to mend 'em." He observes farther of this infamous cobbling Colonel, (Key

And who could those be but the Saints,  
Those Reformation Termagants ?

But e'er this pass'd, the wise debate  
Spent so much time, it grew too late ;  
For Oliver had gotten ground,  
*T' inclose him with his warriors round :*

1255

to Hudibras), " That the day the King was beheaded, he  
" went with a body of horse from Charing-Cross to the  
" Royal Exchange, proclaiming all the way, That whoso-  
" ever should say, that Charles Stuart died wrongfully,  
" should suffer present death." And he is justly sneered by  
Mr Butler, and another loyal poet, in the following lines :

" A one-ey'd cobbler then was one  
" Of that rebellious crew,  
" That in Charles the martyr's blood,  
" Their wicked hands imbrue."

Tale of the Cobbler and Vicar of Bray. Remains,

" Make room for one-ey'd Hewson,  
" A Lord of such account,  
" 'Twas a pretty jest  
" That such a beast  
" Should to such honours mount.  
" When cobblers were in fashion,  
" And niggards in such grace ;  
" 'Twas sport to see,  
" How Pride and he  
" Did jostle for the place."

Collection of Loyal Songs, vol. ii. p. 11.

See a further account of him, (Committee of Safety. Col-  
lection of Loyal Songs, vol. ii. No. 31. p. 152. The Cob-  
bler's last Will and Testament, or Hewson's Translation. Col-  
lection of Loyal Songs, vol. ii. p. 233. A Hymn to the  
gentle Craft; or, Hewson's Lamentation, *id. ib.* No. liv.  
p. 240. Oliver's Court, Mr Butler's Remains.) and of his  
villainy, Trial of William Hulet, as executioner of the King.  
Trials of the Regicides, 1660, p. 228. and Sir Roger L'E-  
strange's Apology, p. 46. where he observes, " That a bro-  
" ther cobbler was killed by his order."

Y. 1257. For Oliver had gotten ground, &c.] Cromwell  
was in Scotland when the treaty of Newport began; but it  
went on with a fatal slowness, chiefly by the means of Sir  
Harry Vane, Pierpoint, and some others, who went to it on

*Had brought his providence about,  
And turn'd th' untimely sophists out.*

1260

Nor had the Uxbridge Bus'ness less  
Of nonsense in't, or sottishness;

purpose to delay matters; and partly by the diffidence of that religious monarch, who could not come to a resolution so soon as his friends desired earnestly of him; so that, by the time it was come to any maturity, Cromwell came with his army from Scotland to London, and overturned all. (Mr B.) See Walker's History of Independency, part ii. p. 18.

Y. 1260. And turn'd th' untimely sophists out.] See note upon ver. 1250.

Y. 1261, 1262. *Nor had the Uxbridge Bus'ness less—Of nonsense in't, or sottishness.*] The Parliament's commissioners were tied up to rigid rules, and seemed to have no power of receding from the very letter of the propositions they brought along with them. This is confirmed by the King's letter to his Queen, of the 5th of Mar. after: "Now is come to pass (says he) what I foresaw—the fruitless end (as to a present peace) of this treaty; but I am still very confident that I shall find the good effects of it: for besides that my commissioners have offered (to say no more) full measured reason, and the rebels have stucken rigidly to their demands, which, I dare say, had been too much though they had taken me prisoner; so that assuredly the breach will light foully upon them." This sentiment is just and rational, since the Parliament's commissioners were inflexible, and made not the least concession. As to what has been pretended in some memoirs, (Bishop Burnet's History of his own Time, vol. i. p. 39, &c.) That the King abruptly broke up this treaty, upon the Marquis of Montrose's letter to him, upon his victory in Scotland; I think it may be refuted by the King's letter to his Queen, of the 19th of February, wherein he tells her, "He even then received certain intelligence of a great defeat given to Argyle by Montrose, who upon surprise totally routed those rebels, killed 1500 of them upon the place." This is all he says of it; and if he had received such a letter as is pretended, or this victory had such an extraordinary effect upon him, no doubt he would in the height of his joy have told the Queen of it; to whom he opened his bosom,



When from a Scoundrel Holder-forth,  
The Scum, as well as son o' th' earth,

and frankly communicated all his secret intentions. Nay, does he not, in his letter of the 5th of March, when the treaty was broke up, absolutely lay the fruitless issue of it to the rigidness of the Parliament's commissioners? If it had been rendered ineffectual by his means, or if he had receded upon this intelligence from any proposition he had before agreed to, certainly the Queen must have been acquainted with so extraordinary a motive: on the contrary, he was desirous the treaty might be prolonged, in hopes of an accommodation; for on the 19th of February he tells her, "He had sent an enlargement of days, for the limited days for treating were then almost expired." These are authorities drawn out of the King's own letters, which fell into the power of the Parliament at Nazeby fight; which were soon afterwards published to the world by special order of parliament, under the title of 'The King's Cabinet open'd; with severe annotations upon them. And can we think, that if the least hint of this secret piece of history had been found, the strict and partial examiners of those letters and papers would not have triumphed at the discovery, and blazoned it to the good people of England, in their plausible annotations? I have been thus particular in refusing this ill-natured insinuation, because it has of late so often been mentioned in conversation, and the truth of it, by some men who are no friends to the memory of that excellent monarch, taken for granted. Mr B.

ψ. 1263. — *a Scoundrel Holder-forth.*] This was Mr Christopher Love, a furious Presbyterian, who, when the King's commissioners met those of the Parliament at Uxbridge, in the year 1644, to treat of peace, preached a sermon there on the 30th of January against the treaty, and said, among other things, "That no good was to be expected from it, for that they (meaning the King's commissioners) came from Oxford with hearts full of blood."

Mr Echard (vol. ii. p. 706. from Dr Nalson) mentions a providential vengeance upon him, occasioned by this incident—that the letter of reprieve from Cromwell was taken from the northern post-boy by some cavaliers on the road. See an account of his abject behaviour at his execution, Impartial Examination of Mr Neal's 4th Vol. of the History of the Puritans, p. 128.

Your *mighty senators* took law, 1265  
 At his command were forc'd t' withdraw,  
 And sacrifice the Peace o' th' nation  
 To Doctrine, Use, and Application.  
 So when the Scots, your constant cronies,  
 Th' espousers of your Cause, and Monies, 1270

Y. 1269, 1270. *So when the Scots, your constant cronies, Th' espousers of your Cause, and Monies.*] The expence the English rebels engaged the nation in, by bringing in their brother rebels from Scotland, amounted to an extravagant sum; their receipts in money, and free quarter, L. 1,462,769: 5: 3. (See Impartial Examination of Mr Neal's Third Volume of the History of the Puritans, p. 270. and Appendix, No. 62, 63, 64, 65.) William Lilly, the Sidrophel of this poem, observes of the Scots, (Preface to his Astrological Predictions of the Occurrences of England, 1648, 1649, 1650.) "That they came into England, purposely to  
 "steal our goods, ravish our wives, enslave our persons,  
 "inherit our possessions and birthrights; remain here in  
 "England, and everlastingly to inhabit among us."

Mr Bowlstrode, son of Colonel Bowlstrode, a factious rebel in Buckinghamshire, in his prayer before his sermon, at Horton near Colebrook, used the following words: "Thou  
 "hast, O Lord, of late, written bitter things against thy  
 "children, and forsaken thine own inheritance: and  
 "now, O Lord, in our misery and distress we expected aid  
 "from our brethren of our neighbouring nation; (the Scots  
 "I mean); but, good Lord, thou knowest that they are a  
 "false and perfidious nation, and do all they do for their  
 "own ends." *Mercurius Rusticus*, No. xiv. p. 157.

By the author of a tract entitled *Lex Talionis*, 1647. p. 9. it is proposed, as a preventing remedy, "to let the Scots,  
 "in the name of God, or of the devil that sent them, go  
 "home."

"I must confess, the holy Firk  
 "Did only work upon our Kirk  
 "For silver and meat;  
 "Which made us come with a' our broods,  
 "Venture our blood for a' your goods,  
 "To pilfer and to cheat."

The Scotch War. Collect. of Loyal Songs, reprinted 1736.  
 vol. i. No. 24.

Who had so often in your aid  
 So many ways been soundly paid,  
 Came in at last for better ends,  
 To prove themselves your trusty friends;  
 You basely left them, and the church 1175  
 They train'd you up to, *in the lurch,*  
 And suffer'd your own tribe of *Christians*  
 To fall before, as *true Philistines*.  
 This shews what utensils y' have been,  
 To bring the King's concernments in : 1180  
 Which is so far from being true,  
 That none but he can bring in you:  
 And if he take you into trust,  
 Will find you most exactly just :  
 Such as will *punctually repay* 1185  
*With double interest, and betray.*

Not that I think those Pantomimes,  
 Who vary action with the times,  
 Are less ingenious in their art,  
 Than those who dully *act one part* : 1190

" For of late the treach'rous Scots and wee,  
 " On a national covenant did agree ;  
 " And bound ourselves by solemn oath,  
 " Ne'er after to keep faith and troth ;  
 " And well may we swear,  
 " They're our brethren dear,  
 " For they have cost us many a thousand pound ;  
 " And for all that we have got  
 " By this advantage from the Scot,  
 " We are turn'd rebellious and round."

A New Ballad called, A Review of the Rebellion, in three Parts.

See a further account of the Scots rebels, Earl of Strafford's Letters, vol. ii. p. 338, 339, &c. Perrival's History of the Iron Age, part i. p. 88, part ii. p. 208.

Or those who turn from side to side,  
 More guilty than the wind and tide.  
 All countries are a wise man's home,  
 And so are governments to some,  
 Who change them for the same intrigues 1295  
 That statesmen use in breaking leagues :  
 While others in *old faiths, and troths,*  
 Look odd, as *out-of-fashion'd cloaths;*  
 And nastier, in an *old opinion,*  
 Than those who never shift their Linen. 1300

For True and Faithful's sure to lose,  
 Which way soever the game goes :  
 And whether parties lose or win,  
 Is always Nick'd, or else *bedg'd in.*  
 While *pow'r usurp'd*, like stol'n delight, 1305  
 Is more bewitching than the right ;  
 And when the times begin to alter,  
 None rise so high as *from the halter.*

And so may we, if w' have but sense  
 To use the necessary means, 1310  
 And not your usual Stratagems  
*On one another, lights, and dreams :*  
 To stand on terms as positive,  
 As if we did not take, but give :  
 Set up the Covenant on crutches, 1315  
 'Gainst those who have us in their clutches,  
 And dream of pulling churches down,  
 Before w' are sure to prop our own :  
 Your constant *method of proceeding,*  
 Without the *carnal means of heeding :* 1320

¶ 1308. *None rise so high as from the halter.*] This was Sir Samson Legend's opinion in Jeremy's case. Congreve's Love for Love, act ii. scene 4. and Gibbet's, see answer to Archer, Beaux Stratagem, act ii. p. 25.

Who, 'twixt your inward sense, and outward,  
Are worse, than if y' had none, accouter'd.

I grant, all courses are in vain,  
Unless we can get in again;

The only way that's left us now,

1325

But all the difficulty's, how?

'Tis true, w' have Money, th' only pow'r

That all mankind falls down before;

ψ. 1327. 1328. 'Tis true, w' have Money, th' only pow'r  
—That all mankind falls down before;] “It is with money, as it is with majesty,” (says Sir Roger L'Estrange, Reflection on the Fable of the Countryman and Kid. First Part, fab. 340.) “all other powers and authorities cease, whilst that's in place.—Fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, relations, friendships, are all but empty names of things, —It is interest that governs the world, and the rulers of it; for it works on all degrees and qualities of men.—Money, in fine, is the universal passport; and all doors open before it.”

“Nihil autem tam arduum quod pecunia non explicitur; quemadmodum eleganter dictum est a M. Tullio, actione in Verrem secunda, Nihil esse tam sanctum quod non violari, nihil tam munitum, quod non expugnari pecunia possit. Ortam aiunt Paraemiam ab oraculo quodam Apollinis Pythii, qui Philippo regi consulenti, quo pacto possit Victoria potiri? Respondit ad hunc modum:”

Ἀργυρίαις λογαίσι μάχῃ, ἔπαντα νικήσεις.

[qu. κράλῃσεις.]

i. e. “Argenteis pugna telis atque omnia vinces,

“videlicet inuens, ut quosdam largitionibus ad prodicionem sollicitaret, atque ita consecuturam quae vellet.” *Erasmi Adag. chil. ii. cent. 7. Prov. 43. vol. ii. oper. p. 624. Vide etiam Adag. chil. i. cent. iii. Prov. 87. vol. ii. p. 134. Pecuniae obediunt omnia. See Ray's Proverbs, 2d edit. p. 147.*

Ψυγὴν Βρολοῖσιν αἶμα τ' ἔσιν ἄργυρος.

Sententia poetae Timoclis. Vide Natal. Comit. Mythol. lib. ii. cap. 2. Reusneri Symbol. Imperat. class. 1. sym. xxii. p. 48, &c.

See Shakespeare's Timon of Athens, act iv. vol. V. p. 273.



Money, that, like the swords of Kings,  
 Is the last reason of all things: 1330  
 And therefore need not doubt our play  
 Has all advantages that way :  
 As long as men have faith to sell,  
 And meet with those that can pay well;  
 Whose half-starv'd Pride and Avarice 1335  
 One Church and State will not suffice,  
 T' expose to sale, beside the wages,  
 Of storing plagues to after-ages.  
 Nor is our money less our own,  
 Than 'twas before we laid it down; 1340  
 For 'twill return, and turn t' account,  
 If we are brought in play upon't :  
 Or but by casting knaves, get in,  
 What pow'r can hinder us to win ?  
 We know the arts we us'd before, 1345  
 In Peace and War, and something more.  
 And by th' unfortunate events,  
 Can mend our next experiments :  
 For when w' are taken into trust,  
 How easy are the wisest shoult ? 1350  
 Who see but th' outsid'es of our feats,  
 And not their secret springs and weights :

Turkish Spy, vol. IV. book iv. let. 2. Spect. No. 450. Dr Middleton's Life of Cicero, 4to edit. vol. i. 266.

Y. 1329, 1330. Money that, like the swords of Kings,—Is the last reason of all things.] See the Spectator's dissertation upon the *argumentum basilinum*, (others write it *bacilinum*, or *baculinum*), No. 239.

“ A man (says the Spectator, No. 240.) who is furnished  
 “ with arguments from the mint, will convince his anta-  
 “ gonists much sooner than one who draws them from rea-  
 “ son and philosophy: gold is a wonderful clearer of the  
 “ understanding, it dissipates every doubt and scruple in an  
 “ instant, accommodates itself to the meanest capacities,  
 “ silences the loud and clamorous, and brings over the most  
 “ obstinate and inflexible.”

And while they're busy at their ease,  
 Can carry what designs we please :  
 How easy is't to serve for Agents,  
 1355  
*To prosecute our old engagements ?*  
*To keep the Good Old Cause on foot,*  
*And present power from taking root ;*  
 Inflame them both with false alarms,  
 Of plots, and parties taking arms :  
 1360  
 To keep the nation's wounds too wide  
 From healing up of side to side,  
 Profess the passionat'st concerns  
 For both their interests, by turns ;  
 The only way t' improve our own,  
 1365  
 By dealing faithfully with none :  
 (As bowls run true, by being made  
 On purpose false, and to be sway'd :)  
 For if we should be true to either,  
 'Twould turn us out of both together ;  
 1370  
 And therefore have no other means  
 To stand upon our own defence,  
 But keeping up our Ancient Party  
*In vigour, confident and hearty ;*  
*To reconcile our late Dissenters,*  
 1375  
*Our brethren, though by other venters ;*  
*Unite them, and their different maggots,*  
*As long and short sticks are in faggots,*  
 And make them join again as close,  
 As when they first began t' espouse ;  
 1380  
 Erect them into separate  
 New Jewish tribes, in church and state ;

ψ. 1362. *For healing up.*] In all editions, to 1704. exclusive.

ψ. 1368. *Of purpose false.*] In all editions to 1704 exclusive.

To join in Marriage, and Commerce,  
 And only among themselves *converse*,  
 And all that are not of their mind, 1385  
 Make enemies to all mankind :  
 Take all religions in, and stickle  
 From Conclave down to Conventicle ;  
 Agreeing still, or disagreeing,  
 According to the light in being : 1390  
 Sometimes, for *liberty of conscience*,  
 And *spiritual misrule*, in *one sense* :  
 But in another quite contrary,  
 As dispensations chance to vary :  
 And stand for, as the times will bear it, 1395  
 All contradictions of the spirit :  
 Protect their Emissaries, empower'd  
 To *preach sedition*, and the word :  
 And when they're hamper'd by the laws,  
 Release the lab'ers for the cause ; 1400  
 And turn the persecution back  
 On those that made the first attack,  
 To keep them equally in awe,  
 From *breaking*, or *maintaining law* :  
 And when they have their fits too soon, 1405  
 Before the Full-tides of the moon,  
 Put off their zeal t' a fitter season,  
 For sowing Faction in, and Treason ;  
 And keep them hooded, and their churches,  
 Like hawks from bating on their perches : 1410  
 That when the blessed time shall come  
 Of quitting Babylon and Rome,  
 They may be ready to restore  
 Their own Fifth Monarchy once more.

ψ. 1414. *Their own Fifth Monarchy once more.*] Dr  
 Lightfoot (see sermon on the fifth of Nov. 1669, Works,

Mean while be better arm'd to fence

1415

Against *revolts of Providence*,

By watching narrowly, and snapping

All blind sides of it, as they happen :

For if success could make us saints,

Our ruin turn'd us Miscreants :

1420

A scandal that wou'd fall too hard

Upon *a few*, and unprepar'd.

These are the courses we must run,  
Spight of our hearts, or be undone :

vol. ii. p. 1166. see likewise p. 1056, 1057.) speaks of the Fifth Monarchy Men in the following manner: "And here (says he) I doubt the Fifth-Monarchy Man is *scarcely* mistaken "in his reckoning, when he accounts the Fifth-Monarchy "to be the kingdom of Christ; whereas the Fifth Monarchy "was the kingdom of the devil."

¶ 1419, 1420. *For if success could make us saints,—Our ruin turn'd us Miscreants.*] The author of the Fourth Part of the History of Independency, p. 56. compares the governors of those times with the Turks, who ascribe the goodness of their cause to the keenness of their sword, denying that any thing may properly be called *nefas*, if it can but win the epithet of *prospetum*. Dr Owen seems to have been in this way of thinking. "Where (says he, Ebenezer, p. 13. L'Estrange's Dissenters' Sayings, part ii. "p. 11.) is the God of Marston-Moor, and the God of Nazeby? is an acceptable expostulation in a glorious day. "Oh! what a catalogue of mercies has this nation to plead "by in a time of trouble; The God came from Nazeby, "and the Holy One from the West. Selah."

And a poet of those times banters them upon this head in the following lines:

"That side is always right that's strong,

"And that that's beaten must be wrong;

"And he that thinks that 'tis not so,

"Unless he's sure to beat 'um too,

"Is but a fool to oppose 'um."

Collection of Loyal Songs, vol. ii. p. 143.

See the rebellion justified (by their rebel-preachers) from success. Century of Eminent Presbyterian Preachers, p. 22, &c.

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 And only among themselves *converse*,  
 And all that are not of their mind, 1385  
 Make enemies to all mankind :  
 Take all religions in, and stickle  
 From Conclave down to Conventicle ;  
 Agreeing still, or disagreeing,  
 According to the light in being : 1390  
 Sometimes, for *liberty of conscience*,  
 And *spiritual misrule*, in *one sense* :  
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 As dispensations chance to vary :  
 And stand for, as the times will bear it, 1395  
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And not to stand on terms and freaks, 1425  
 Before we have secur'd our necks.  
 But do our work, as out of sight,  
 As stars by day, and suns by night :  
 All licence of the People own,  
 In opposition to the Crown ; 1430  
 And for the Crown as fiercely side,  
 The *head and body* to divide.  
 The end of all we first design'd,  
 And all that yet remains behind :  
 Be sure to spare no *public rapine*, 1435  
 On all emergencies that happen ;  
 For 'tis as easy to supplant  
 Authority, as men in want :  
 As some of us, in trusts, have made  
 The one hand with the other trade ; 1440  
 Gain'd vastly by their *joint endeavour*,  
 The Right a thief, the Left receiver ;  
 And what the one, by tricks *forestall'd*,  
 The other, by as sly, *retail'd*.  
 For Gain has wonderful effects 1445  
 T' improve the factory of sects :  
 The rule of faith in all professions,  
 And great Diana of the Ephesians :  
 Whence turning of religion's made  
 The means to turn and wind a trade. 1450  
 And though some change it for the worse,  
 They put themselves into a course ;  
 And draw in store of customers,  
 To thrive the better in commerce :  
 For all religions flock together, 1455  
 Like *tame and wild fowl* of a feather :

ψ. 1448. *And great Diana of the Ephesians.*] See Acts  
 xix. 28.

ψ. 1456. *Like tame and wild-fowl of a feather.*] " Birds

To nab the itches of their *seats*,  
 As jades do one another's necks.  
 Hence 'tis, *hypocrisy*, as well  
 Will serve t' improve a Church, as Zeal : 1460  
 As Persecution, or Promotion,  
 Do equally advance Devotion.

Let business, like ill watches, go  
 Sometime too fast, sometime too slow :  
 For things in order are put out 1465  
 So easy, *Ease itself will do't*;  
 But when the feat's design'd and meant,  
 What miracle can bar th' event ?  
 For 'tis more easy to betray,  
 Than ruin any other way. 1470

All possible occasions start,  
 The weighty'st matters to divert ;  
*Obstruct, perplex, distract, intangle,*  
*And lay perpetual trains to wrangle.*  
 But in affairs of less import, 1475  
 That neither do us good nor hurt,  
 And they receive as little by,  
*Out-fawn as much, and out-comply*;  
 And seem as scrupulously just,  
 To bait our hooks for greater trust. 1480  
 But still be careful to cry down  
*All public actions, though our own* :  
 The least miscarriage aggravate,  
 And charge it all upon the State :  
 Express the horrid'st detestation, 1485  
 And pity the distracted nation ?  
 Tell stories *scandalous*, and *false*,  
 I' th' proper language of Cabals,

" of a feather flock together." See Ray's Proverbial Sentences, book xxxviii. p. 61. edition 1670.

Where all a subtle statesman says,  
Is half in words, and half in face; 1490

(As Spaniards talk in Dialogues  
Of Heads, and Shoulders, Nods and Shrugs)  
Entrust it under solemn vows

Of Mum, and Silence, and the Rose,  
To be retail'd again in whispers, 1495  
For th' easy credulous to disperse.

Thus far the statesman——When a shout,  
Heard at a distance, put him out;  
And strait another, all aghast,  
Rush'd in with equal fear and haste : 1500

ψ. 1493, 1494. *Entrust it under solemn vows—Of Mum,*] *Mum* in print (says Dr Baynard, *History of Cold Baths*, p. 132.) is like the sealing a bond in private, which begins *Noverint universi*.

*Ibid.* —and *Silence*,] See an account of the secrecy of the Venetian councils. Howell's *History of the Signory of Venice*, p. 7.

*Ibid.* —and *the Rose*.] See this fully explained, *Stuckii Antiq. Cinvivial. lib. iii. cap. 16.* *Levini Lemnii Herbar. Biblior. explic. cap. 54.* *Angeli Politiani Miscel. cap. 83.* *Gruteri Fax. Art. tom. i. p. 100.* Sir Tho. Browne's *Vulgar Errors*, book V. ch. xxi. sect. 7. Archbishop Potter's *Antiquities of Greece*, vol. ii. ch. 20.

ψ. 1495, 1496. *To be retail'd again in whispers,—For th' easy credulous to disperse.*] The entrusting of secrets with a design of having them divulged, is well exposed in Sir Roger L'Estrange's *Fable of the Woman entrusted with a secret*, (part i. fab. 427.) who, by way of trial and banter, was entrusted by her husband with the secret of his having laid an egg, which was increased to forty eggs by six in the afternoon.

Rabelais (*Works*, vol. iii. chap. 34.) informs us how Pope John XXII. reproved the Abbess and Nuns of Fontherralt for not being able to keep a secret with which he had intrusted them twenty-four hours, though they had desired of him an indulgence to confess themselves to one another under the seal of secrecy. See *Wife of Bath's Tale*, Dryden's *Fables*, folio, p. 485. *Tatler*, No. 152.

Who star'd about, as pale as death,  
 And, for a while, *as out of breath*:  
 Till having gather'd up his wits,  
 He thus began his tale by fits.

That beastly Rabble,—that came down 1505  
 From all the garrets—in the town,  
 And stalls, and shop-boards,—in vast swarms,  
 With new-chalk'd bills—and rusty arms,  
 To cry the Cause—up, heretofore,  
 And bawl the Bishops——out of door; 1510  
 Are now drawn up—in greater shoals,  
 To roast—and broil us on the coals,  
 And all the Grandees—of our members  
 Are carbonading—on the embers;  
 Knights, citizens, and burgesses—— 1515  
 Held forth by Rumps—of pigs and geese,

ψ. 1504. *He thus began his tale by fits.*] We learn from Lilly, (Life, p. 85.) That the messenger who brought this terrifying intelligence to this cabal, was Sir Martyn Noell, whom he calls a discreet citizen: he came about nine at night, and told them the surprising news of the citizens burning the Parliament (which they then called the *Rump*) in effigy and emblem. Lilly says, "This council of state (the very cabal before us) could not believe it, until they had sent some ministers of their own, who affirmed the verity of it." Sir Martyn tells his story naturally, and begins like a man in a fright, and out of breath, and continues to make breaks and stops till he naturally recovers it; and then proceeds floridly, and without impediment. This is a beauty in the Poem not to be disregarded: and let the reader make an experiment, and shorten his breath; or, in other words, put himself into Sir Martyn's condition, and then read this relation, and he will soon be convinced that the breaks are natural and judicious. Mr B.

ψ. 1505. *That beastly Rabble,—that came down, &c.*] \* This is an accurate description of the mob's burning rumps upon the admission of the secluded members, in contempt of the Rump-parliament.



That serve for characters—and badges  
 To represent their personages :  
 Each bonfire is a funeral pile,  
 In which they roast, and scorch, and broil, 1520  
 And ev'ry representative  
 Have vow'd to roast—and broil alive :  
 And 'tis a miracle we are not  
 Already sacrific'd incarnate.  
 For while we wrangle here, and jar, 1525  
 W' are grilly'd all at Temple-Bar :  
 Some, on the sign-post of an ale-house,  
 Hang in Effigy, on the gallows,  
 Made up of Rags, to personate  
 Respective Officers of State; 1530  
 That henceforth they may stand reputed,  
 Proscrib'd in law, and executed,  
 And while the work is carrying on,  
 Be ready list'd under Dun,

Y. 1534. *Be ready list'd under Dun.*] Dun was the public executioner at that time; and the executioners, long after that, went by the same name. Mr Butler, in his *Proposals for farming Liberty of Conscience*, (published 1663, p. 30.) amongst other resolutions gives the following one: "Resolved, that a day of solemn fasting be.—(And among many other particulars), Lastly, To be delivered from the "hand of Dun, that uncircumcised Philistine."

His predecessor's name was Gregory, as appears from the prologue to *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, a tragic-comedy, acted at Paris, &c. 1641.

" This trembles under the black rod, and he

" Doth fear his fate from the Gregorian tree."

And in a paper called the *Parliament Kite*, 1648. No. 14. mention is made of him.

" What would you say to see them fall,

" With both their Houses vile ;

" Because they have deceiv'd us all,

" Now Gregory they'll beguile."

That worthy patriot, once the bellows 1535  
And tinder-box of all his fellows :

Sir John Birkenhead likewise mentions him, Paul's Church-yard, cent. 3. class xiii. No. 68. Sir William Segar, garter king of arms, was imposed upon by Brook, a herald, who procured him, by artifice, to confirm arms to Gregory Brandon, who was found to be common hangman of London. (Anstis's Register of the Garter, vol. i. p. 399.) And from him, probably, the hangman was called *Gregory* for some time. The name of *Dun* which succeeded that of *Gregory*, is mentioned by Cotton, Virgil Travestie, published 1670, book iv. p. 124.

" Away therefore my lads doth trot,  
" And presently an halter got,  
" Made of the best string hempen teer;  
" And ere a cat could lick her ear,  
" Had tied it up with as much art,  
" As Dun himself could do for's heart."

See Marquis of Argyle's Last Will and Testament, 1661, p. 5.

Nay, the name of *Dun* was continued to these finishers of the law (as they have sometimes affected to style themselves, and squires by their office, (from the confirmation, I suppose, of Gregory Brandon's arms) twelve years longer; when one Jack Ketch, about threescore years ago, was advanced to that office; who has left his name to his successors ever since. This appears from Butler's Ghost, published 1682: when the author wrote the former part of it, it is plain that Dun was the executioner's name, or nickname.

" For you yourself to act Squire Dun,  
" Such ignominy ne'er saw the fun."

Butler's Ghost, p. 29.

But before he had printed off his poem, Jack Ketch was in office.

" Till Ketch observing he was chous'd,  
" And in his profits much abus'd;  
" In open hall the tribune dun'd,  
" To do his office, or refund."

Butler's Ghost, p. 54.

See Loyal Songs, vol. II. No. ii. p. 5.

None of these, in their office, could come up to the Dutch Headsmen, mentioned by Mr Cleveland, (Character of a London Diurnal), of whom it was reported, " That he would

The activ'st member of the five,  
*As well as the most primitive;*  
 Who, for his faithful service then,  
 Is chosen for a Fifth agen :  
 (For since the State has made a Quint  
 Of Generals, he's list'd in't :)

1540

"do his office with so much ease and dexterity, that the  
 "head, after the execution, should stand still upon the shoul-  
 "ders." Or to the executioner of Stockholm, who was con-  
 demned to that office, at ten years old, for cutting off the  
 head of another boy at play. A. de la Motraye's Travels,  
 vol. ii. p. 361.

Y. 1540. *Is chosen for a Fifth agen.*] Sir Arthur Hazlerig, one of the five members of the House of Commons, was impeached 1641-2. (See Lord Clarendon, Echard, Rapin, &c.) Sir Arthur Hazlerig, as Mr Walker observes, (History of Independency, part i. p. 173.) was Governor of Newcastle upon Tyne, had the Bishop of Durham's house, park, and manor of Aukland, and six thousand five hundred pounds in money given him. He died in the Tower of London, Jan. 8. 1661. *Mercurius Publicus*, No. i. p. 16.

The writer of An Elegy upon King Charles the First, (1648, p. 9.) gives but a scurvy character of him in the following lines:

"Nor John of Leyden, whom the pillag'd quires  
 "Employ'd in Munster for his own attires:  
 "His pranks by Hazlerig exceeded be,  
 "A wretch more wicked, and as mad as he;  
 "Who once in triumph led his sumpter mools  
 "Proudly bedecked with the altar's spoils."

See *Mercur. Rustic.* p. 143.

See his character, Ludlow's Mem. vol. ii. p. 718, Walker's History of Independency, part i. p. 29. part iv. p. 57. where he calls him a *saint of the devil's last edition*. A tract entitled, A true and exact Relation of the great and heavy Pressures and Grievances the well-affected northern bordering Counties ly under, by Sir Arthur Hazlerig's Misgovernment. By John Musgrave. London, printed anno Dom. 1650. Lilly's Life, p. 48. Echard's History of England, vol. ii. p. 279.

Y. 1541, 1542. — *a Quint—Of Generals.*] The Rump growing jealous of General Monk, ordered that the general-

This worthy, as the world will say,  
 Is paid in specie, his own way;  
 For, moulded to the life in clouts, 1545  
 Th' have pick'd from dung-hills hereabouts,  
 He's mounted on a Hazel Bavin,  
 A cropp'd malignant Baker gave 'em :  
 And to the largest bonfire riding,  
 They've roasted Cook already, and Pride in : 1550

ship should be vested in five commissioners, Monk, Hazlerig, Walton, Morley, and Alured: making three a quorum, but denying a motion that Monk should be of that quorum; (Echard's History of England, vol. ii. p. 881. Rapin's Hist. of England, vol. ii. p. 614.) but their authority not being then much regarded, this order was not obeyed, and Monk continued sole general notwithstanding. See Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 830, &c.

ψ. 1547. *He's mounted on a Hazel Bavin.*] Alluding to Hazlerig's name. *Bavin* signifies a brush-faggot.

" It yearly costs five hundred pounds besides

" To fence the town from Hull and Humber's tides,

" For stakes, for bavins, timber, stones, and piles, &c."

J. Taylor's Merry-wherry Voyage, Works, p. 13.

Shakespeare uses the word in his First Part of Henry IV. (act iii. vol. III. p. 400.) where the King, speaking of Richard II. says,

" The skipping King, he ambled up and down

" With shallow jesters, and rash bavin wits,

" Soon kindled, and soon burnt."

See Mr Peck's Note, New Memoirs of Milton's Life, p. 246.

ψ. 1550. *They've roasted Cook.*] The wicked wretch who acted as solicitor in the King's trial, and drew up a charge of high treason against him, and had drawn up a formal plea against him, in case he had submitted to the jurisdiction of the court. At his own trial he pleaded, that what he did was as a lawyer for his fee. He deservedly suffered at Tyburn as a regicide. See Lord Clarendon and Mr Echard.

" When Pluto keeps his feast,

" The rogues must all appear,

" And Mr Scot, I had forgot,

" Must taste of this good cheer :

On whom, in equipage and state,  
His scarecrow fellow-members wait,  
And march in order, two and two,  
As at *thanksgivings* th' us'd to do;  
Each in a tatter'd Talisman,  
Like vermin in effigie slain.

1555

But (what's more dreadful than the rest)  
Those Rumps are but the Tail o' th' Beast,  
Set up by Popish Engineers,  
As by the Crackers plainly appears:

1560

*For none but Jesuits have a mission  
To preach the faith with ammunition,  
And propagate the church with powder;  
Their founder was a blown-up Soldier.*

These spiritual pioneers o' th' whore's,  
That have the charge of all her stores;  
Since first they fail'd in their designs,  
To take in heav'n, by springing mines,  
And with unanswerable barrels

1565

Of gun-powder dispute their quarrels;  
Now take a course more practicable,  
By laying trains to fire the Rabble,

1570

" Find out the man, quoth Pluto,

" That is the greatest sinner;

" If Cook be he, then Cook shall be

" The cook to cook my dinner."

Collection of Loyal Songs, vol. ii. p. 52.

Y. 1564. Their founder was a blown-up Soldier.] \* Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Society of the Jesuits, was a gentleman of Biscay in Spain, and bred a soldier; was at Pampelune when it was besieged by the French, in the year 1521, and was so very lame in both feet, by the damage he sustained there, that he was forced to keep his bed. *Vide Ignatii Vit. lib. i. cap. ii. p. 279.*

Y. 1568. —by springing mines.] Alluding to the gunpowder treason, conducted by the Jesuits. Mr W.



And blow us up, in th' open streets,  
 Disguis'd in Rumps, like Sambenites ;  
 More like to ruin, and confound, 1575  
 Than all their doctrines under ground.

Nor have they chosen Rumps amiss,  
 For symbols of State-Mysteries ;  
 Though some suppose 'twas but to shew  
 How much they scorn'd the Saints, the few ; 1580  
 Who 'cause they're wasted to the stumps,  
 Are represented best by Rumps.

But Jesuits have deeper reaches  
 In all their Politic Far-fetches :  
 And from their Coptic priest, Kircherus, 1585  
 Found out this mystic way to jeer us.

For, as th' Egyptians us'd by Bees  
 T' express their antic Ptolomies ;  
 And by their stings, the swords they wore,  
 Held forth authority and pow'r : 1590

Y. 1574. *Disguis'd in Rumps, like Sambenites.*] *Sambenito*, a coat of coarse cloth, in which penitents are reconciled to the Church of Rome ; and prisoners wear it sometimes for a year in prison. It is also, (as here meant), a coat of coarse canvas painted with devils and ugly stapes, which persons condemned for heresy by the Spanish Inquisition wear, when they go to execution. See *Discovery—of the Inquisition*, by Reginaldus Gonsalvus Montanus, 1568, f. 45. *Limborch's History of the Inquisition*. Translated by Mr Chandler, vol. ii. p. 295. Mr Baker's *History of the Inquisition*, chap. vii. p. 44, 360, 480, 506. *Don Quixote*, vol. iv. p. 682.

Y. 1585. *And from their Coptic priest, Kircherus.*] \* Athanasius Kircher, a Jesuit, hath wrote largely on the Egyptian mystical learning. *Kirkerus* in the two first editions.

Y. 1587. *For, as th' Egyptians us'd by Bees, &c.*] \* The Egyptians represented their kings (many of whose names were Ptolomy) under the hieroglyphic of a bee, dispensing honey to the good and virtuous, and having a sting for the wicked and dissolute,

Because the subtil animals  
 Bear all their int'rests in their tails;  
 And when they're once impair'd in that,  
 Are banish'd their well-order'd state:  
 They thought all governments were best 1595  
 By Hieroglyphic Rumps exprest.

For, as in bodies natural,  
 The Rump's the fundament of all;  
 So, in a Commonwealth, or realm,  
 The government is call'd the Helm; 1600  
 With which, like vessels under sail,  
 They're turn'd and winded by the Tail,  
 The Tail, which birds and fishes steer  
 Their courses with, through sea and air;  
 To whom the rudder of the Rump, is 1605  
 The same thing with the Stern and Compass.

Y. 1591, 1592, 1593, 1594. *Because the subtil animals  
 Bear all their int'rests in their tails;  
 And when they're once impair'd in that,  
 Are banish'd their well-order'd state.]*

*Ignavum fucos pecus, a præsepibus arcent.*

*Virgilii Georgic. lib. iv. 168.*

"All with united force combine to drive  
 "The lazy drones from the laborious hive."

Mr Dryden.

Virgil observes of them (*Georgic. lib. iv. 236, 237, 238.*)  
 that they instantly die upon the loss of their stings.

*Illis ira modum supra est, læsaque venenum  
 Moribus inspirant, et spicula cæca relinquunt  
 Affixa venis, animasque in vulnere ponunt.*

"Prone to revenge, the bees, a wrathful race,  
 "When once provok'd, assault th' aggressor's face:  
 "And through the purple veins a passage find,  
 "There fix their stings, and leave their souls behind."

Mr Dryden.

See Aesop's fable of Jupiter and the Bee. L'Estrange's  
 Fables, part i. fab. 125. *Mouseti Insectorum Theatr. p. 9.*

Y. 1606. — and Compass.] The compass or magnetic

This shews how perfectly the Rump  
 And Commonwealth in nature jump.  
 For as a fly that goes to bed,  
 Rests with his tail above his head ; 1610  
 So, in this mungrel state of ours,  
 The Rabble are the supreme powers ;  
 That hor'd us on their backs, to show us  
 A jadish trick at last, and throw us.  
 The learned rabbins of the Jews 1615  
 Write, there's a bone, which they call *Luez*,  
 I' th' rump of man, of such a virtue,  
 No force in nature can do hurt to ;

needle, first found out in Europe, by John or Flavio Gioia of the city Amalfi, in the kingdom of Naples. Lediard's Naval History, vol. i. p. 35. Hearne's System of Universal History, vol. i. p. 80. anno 1392.

ψ. 1609, 1610. *For as a fly that goes to bed,—Rests with his tail above his head, &c.*] This is literally true.

ψ. 1615, 1616, 1617, 1618. *The learned rabbins of the Jews—Write, there's a bone, which they call Luez,—I' th' rump of man, of such a virtue,—No force in nature can do hurt to ;*] Buxtorf in *Lexic. Chaldaic. Talmud. et Rabbin.* col. 12. under the word לֵזָה thus writes: *Nomen ossis cujusdam in corpore humano, quod scribunt Hebraei incorruptibile, &c.* For which he quotes several rabbinical authors: (Mr Professor Chapelow), "When Adrianus was bruising of bones, he asked R. Jehoshuang, the son of Hhaninah, and said to him, From what will God at the latter end revive man? He said, From Luz of the back-bone. (Luz is a little bone in the shape of an almond, or hazle-nut, standing at the bottom of the back-bone. R. Solomon.) He said to him, Whence dost thou know it? He answered, Get it me, and I will inform you. Adrianus procured one, and he (R. Jehoshuang) endeavoured to grind it in a mill, but it would not grind; he endeavoured to burn it in a fire, but it would not burn; he put it into water, and it was not dissolved; he put it upon a garment, and struck it with a hammer; but the garment was rent, and the hammer split, and it (the bone) was not diminished." A translation from *Bresbith Rabbith*.

And therefore at the last great day,  
 All th' other members shall, they say, 1620  
 Spring out of this, as from a seed  
 All sorts of vegetals proceed;  
 From whence the learned sons of art,  
 Os Sacrum, justly stile that part.  
 Then what can better represent, 1625  
 Than this Rump bone, the Parliament;

sect. 28. by Mr Israel Lyon. See Dr Pocock's Annotations on *Porta-Mosis*, p. 169. Dr Twell's edition.

Mohammed taught his followers something to this purpose. See Sale's Preliminary Discourse to the Koran, p. 79.

ψ. 1619, 1620, 1621, 1622. *And therefore at the last great day—All th' other members shall, they say,—Spring out of this, as from a seed—All sort of vegetals proceed.*] The learned Mr John Gregory of Oxford, in his Sermon upon the Resurrection, (Notes and Observations upon some Passages of Scripture, 1684, p. 70.) where he is proving the resurrection of the same body, informs us, “That a learned chymist, who spent much time in the contemplation of tinctures, and the impression of vegetables, to prove the great principle of salt, made this experiment. He took several herbs and plants, and calcined them to ashes; he put up the ashes into several glasses sealed hermetically, and written upon with the several names of the calcined herbs: when he would shew the experiment, he applied a soft flame to the glasses, where forthwith he might perceive the self-same herbs rising up by little and little out of the ashes, every one in his proper form; and the flame subtracted, they would return to their chaos again.”

Philip Skippon, Esq; in his Journey through Part of the Low Countries, &c. (Churchill's Collections, vol. vi. 717.) makes mention of one Baldasti, a chymist, who bragged, “That he could discover the name of any plant, only by seeing the fixed salt of it. If four thousand were brought one after another, he could distinguish them: that he had an universal liquor that would produce any plant out of its fixed salt.” See a curious dissertation, Tatler, No. 119.

ψ. 1626. *Than this Rump-bone, the Parliament;*] See the reason why those few members of the House of Commons, after they had secluded their fellow-members to make

That, after several rude ejections,  
 And as prodigious resurrections,  
 With new reverfions of nine lives,  
 Starts up, and, like a cat, revives ? 1630  
 But now, alas ! they're all expir'd,  
 And th' Houfe, as well as Members, fir'd ;  
 Consum'd in Kennels by the Rout,  
 With which they other fires put out ;

way for the King's trial, were called a *Rump*, or *fag-end* of a parliament. Walker's History of Independency, part ii. p. 32. part iii. p. 35, 75. Heath's Chronicle, p. 422. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, vol. ii. p. 53. Lilly's History of his own Life and Times, p. 84.

" The Rump's an old ftory, if well understood ;

" 'Tis a thing drefs'd up in a parliament's hood,

" And like't, but the tail ftands where the head fhould,

" Which nobody can deny.

" 'Twould make a man fcratch where it does not itch,

" To fee forty fools' heads in one politic breech ;

" And that hugging the nation, as the devil did the witch," &c.

A New-year's Gift for the Rump. Collection of Loyal Songs, vol. i. p. 44. See many Songs upon the Rump, vol. *ibid.* No. 7, 10, &c.

y. 1627, 1628, 1629, 1630. *That, after feveral rude ejections,—And as prodigious refurrections,—With new reverfions of nine lives,—Starts up,*] The Rump was ejected by Oliver Cromwell and his officers, April 1653. reftored the 6th of May 1659, turned out again the 13th of October, and reftored the 26th of December. See Fowlis's History of the Wicked Plots, &c. p. 126, 127. Walker's History of Independency, part iv. p. 24, 39, 68, 82. Re-refurrection of the Rump. Loyal Songs, vol. ii. No. 10.

" Then a pox light on the pitiful Rump,

" That a third time above-board vapors ;

" Which Old Nick blew out, but now turns up trump,

" As Joan farted in and out tapers."

Collection of Loyal Songs, vol. ii. p. 138.

y. 1630. —and, like a cat, revives.] " Care will kill a " cat, and yet a cat is faid to have nine lives." Ray's Proverbial Sentences.



Condemn'd t' ungoverning distress, 1635  
 And paltry, private wretchedness;  
 Worse than the Devil to privation,  
 Beyond all hopes of restoration :  
 And parted like the body and soul,  
 From all dominion and controul. 1640

We, who cou'd lately with a look  
*Enact, establish, or revoke;*  
 Whose arbitrary nods gave law,  
 And frowns kept multitudes in awe;  
 Before the bluster of whose huff, 1645  
 All hats, as in a storm, flew off;  
 Ador'd and bow'd to, by the great,  
 Down to the footman and valet;  
 Had more bent knees than Chapel-Mats,  
 And Prayers, than *the crowns of hats;* 1650  
 Shall now be scorn'd as wretchedly,  
 For ruin's just as low, as high;  
 Which might be suffer'd, were it all  
 The horror that attends our fall :  
 For some of us have scores more large 1655  
 Than heads and quarters can discharge :

*ψ. 1655, 1656. For some of us have scores more large—  
 Than heads and quarters can discharge.]* John Taylor, the  
*Water-poet*, (see *Revenge*. To William Fenner, Works,  
 p. 146.) has blazoned the arms of such villains as these :

“——I hope

“Thou wilt conclude thy roguery in a rope:

“Three trees, two rampant, and the other crossant,

“One halter pendant, and a ladder passant,

“In a field azure, clouded like the sky,

“Because 'twixt earth and air I hope thou'lt die:

“These arms for thee my muse hath heraldiz'd,

“And to exalt thee them she hath deviz'd:

“Then when thou bid'st the world the last good night,

“I squint upright, and say, Gallows claim thy right.”

See Song entitled, *A Quarrel betwixt Tower-hill and Ty-  
 burn*. Collection of Loyal Songs, vol. ii. No. 2.

And others, who, by restless scraping,  
 With public frauds, and private rapine,  
 Have mighty heaps of wealth amass'd,  
 Would gladly lay down all, at last : 1660  
 And to be but undone, entail  
 Their vessels on perpetual jail;  
 And bless the dev'l to let them farms  
 Of forfeit souls, on no worse terms.  
 This said, a near, and louder shout 1665  
 Put all th' assembly to the rout,

¶ 1661, 1662. *And to be but undone, entail—Their vessels on perpetual jail.*] (See Sir Roger L'Estrange's Apology, p. 51.) This the regicides in general would have done gladly, but the ring-leaders of them were executed in *terrorem*: those that came in upon proclamation, were brought to the bar of the House of Lords, 25 November 1661, to answer what they could say for themselves, why judgment should not be executed against them? They severally alleged, "That upon his Majesty's gracious declaration from Breda, and the votes of the Parliament, &c. they did render themselves, being advised, that they should thereby secure their lives; and humbly craved the benefit of the proclamation, &c. And Harry Martyn briskly added, "That he had never obeyed any proclamation before this, "and hoped he should not be hanged for taking the King's word now. A bill was brought in for their execution, which was read twice, but afterwards dropped, and so they were all sent to their several prisons, and little more heard of." (Echard's Hist. of England, vol. iii. p. 63.) Ludlow, and some others, escaped by flying among the Swiss Cantons.

Diodorus Siculus observes of the Egyptians, (*Rer. Antiq. lib. iv. cap. 1.*) That amongst them it was reckoned dishonourable to commute death with banishment. "Commutare mortem exilio, veluti mos est apud Graecos, nefas habetur: ferunt quendam missum ad se mortis signo, cogitasse ex Ethiopia fugere: quod praesentiens mater, zona ad filii collum posita, nequaquam manibus reniti ausum; ne suis dedecori esset, strangulasse."

Who now begun t' out-run their fear,  
 As horses do, from those they bear :  
 But crowded on with so much haste,  
 Until th' had block'd the passage fast, 1670  
 And barricado'd it with Haunches  
 Of *outward men*, and *bulks and paunches*,  
 That with their shoulders strove to squeeze,  
 And rather save a *crippled piece*  
 Of all their crush'd and *broken members*, 1675  
 Than have them *grillied on the embers*;  
 Still pressing on, with heavy packs  
 Of one another on their backs :  
 The van-guard could no longer bear  
 The charges of the *forlorn rear*, 1680  
 But, born down headlong by the Rout,  
 Were trampled sorely under foot :  
 Yet nothing prov'd so formidable,  
 As th' horrid Cookery of the Rabble :  
 And Fear, that keeps all feeling out, 1685  
 As lesser pains are by the gout,

*v.* 1665, 1666. *This said, a near, and louder, shout—Put all th' assembly to the rout.*] When Sir Martyn came to this cabal, he left the rabble at Temple-Bar; but by the time he had concluded his discourse, they were advanced near Whitehall and Westminster. This alarmed our caballers, and perhaps terrified them with the apprehension of being hanged or burned in reality, as some of them that very instant were in effigy: no wonder therefore they broke up so precipitately, and that each endeavoured to secure himself: the manner of it is described with a poetical licence, only to embellish this Canto with a diverting catastrophe. Mr B.

*v.* 1671. *And barricado'd it with Haunches, &c.*] See a merry description of a fat man in a crowd. Preface to *A Tale of a Tub*, p. 21. Dr Swift's *Intelligencer*, No. xiii. p. 143.

Reliev'd 'em with a fresh supply  
Of rallied force, enough to fly.

Y. 1689, 1690. *And bear a Tuscan Running-horse,—Whose Jockey-rider is all Spurs.*] My worthy friend the reverend Mr William Smith, rector of Saint Mary's in the town of Bedford, communicated the following note upon these two lines.

The anniversary of the Pope's coronation is celebrated at Rome with universal festivity, and concludes at night with a costly and extraordinary fire-work, which is played off from the top of the castle of Saint Angelo, and distributes rockets in the air all around into various forms of crowns, sceptres, &c. in a most surprising manner. Amongst the other diversions of the day is a horse-race in one of the longest streets of the city; to which resort a vast number of well-dressed gentlemen and fine ladies: particularly, the Cardinal-protector for the English nation does then hire a house for the day in that street, where he entertains such of our countrymen as will favour him with their company with an elegant regale of rich wines, and all sorts of sweetmeats, &c.; and from the windows of the balconies, they (and indeed all other persons of quality and distinction) have the pleasure of seeing the race, which is performed in the following manner:

The horses (without being saddled) are placed exactly all together a-breast, and so held by the bridle. There is a girt goes round each of their bodies, to which, upon the top of their backs, is fastened a thin plate of polished steel, about two inches in breadth, and a foot long, in the shape of an arch, which is so pliable, as to rise up and fall down again towards the hinder part of the horse, at his least motion; at the extremity whereof hangs a bunch of very sharp spurs; these spurs are held up from touching the horse by a groom, who, upon the signal for starting, lets them fall down, and prick his back, upon which all the horses immediately start; and the faster they run, the faster do the spurs prick them.

There are persons at the end of the race ready to lift up the spurs, take them off from the girts, and lead the horses home by the bridle.

I suppose Tuscany breeds the best Italian race-horses; which induced Mr Butler to use the term of *Tuscan horse*. And this seems to be confirmed by Sir William Davenant,

And beat a Tuscan Running-Horse,  
Whose Jockey-rider is all Spurs.

1690

who, speaking of Gartha, one of his heroines, (Gondibert, part 2. can. ii. sect. 82. p. 384.) says,

“ To Brescia’s camp her course she had design’d,

“ And bids her Tuscan charioteer drive on,

“ As if her steeds were dieted with wind :

“ Slow seems their speed, whose thoughts before  
them run.”

The Rev. Dr Dighton of New-market (as I am informed by the Rev. Mr Smith of Harleston) has the picture of one of these horses. There is a line full of spurs reaching from main to tail—

The horse-race in the street Del Corso, at Rome, during the time of the carnival, is performed much in the same manner, with barbs instead of Tuscan horses.

A. de la Motraye (see Travels, vol. I. ch. iv. p. 58.) observes, “ That two bags stuffed with straw, one on the top “ of the other in the top of a wallet, with little pointed “ wires, like the bristles of a hedge-hog, are tied on the “ horse’s back, and hang down upon his flanks: then they “ whip two or three of them together, and so let them go, “ and the motion of their running stirring the bristles, and “ (as it were) spurring them, encreases the speed,” See likewise Baron Pollnitz’s Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 64.

*End of Canto SECOND, Part THIRD.*



# HUDIBRAS.

## CANTO THIRD.

### THE ARGUMENT.

*The Knight and Squire's prodigious flight,  
To quit th' enchanted bow'r by night :  
He plods to turn his amorous suit  
T' a plea in law, and prosecute :  
Repairs to counsel, to advise  
'Bout managing the enterprize ;  
But first resolves to try by letter,  
And one more fair address, to get her.*

**W**HO wou'd believe what strange Bugbears  
Mankind creates itself, of Fears,  
That spring, like fern, that insect weed,  
Equivocally, without seed ?  
And have no possible foundation,  
But merely in th' imagination ;

Our Poet now resumes his principal subject : and the reason why he is so full in the recapitulation of the last adventure of our Knight and Squire is, because we had lost sight of our heroes for the space of the longest Canto in the whole Poem. This respite might probably occasion forgetfulness in some readers, whose attention had been so long suspended : it was therefore necessary that a repetition should be made of the dark adventure, and that it should be made clear and intelligible to the reader. Mr B.

*V. 3, 4. That spring, like fern, that insect weed,—Equivocally, without seed.] Pliny affirms the same of two sorts of fern. (Hist. Nat. lib. xxvii. cap. 9.) Filicis duo genera nec florem habent, nec semen.*

And yet can do more dreadful feats  
 Than Hags, with all their Imps and Teats;  
 Make more bewitch and haunt themselves,  
 Than all their *nurseries of elves*. 10.  
 For Fear does things so like a witch,  
 'Tis hard t' unriddle which is which;  
 Sets up communities of senses,  
 To chop and change intelligences;  
 As Rosicrucian Virtuofos 15  
 Can see with Ears, and hear with Noses;

Shakespeare seems to banter this opinion: (First Part of Henry IV. act ii. vol. III. p. 368.)

Gadshill to the Chamberlain.

"We steal as in a castle, cock-sure, we have the receipt  
 "of fern-feed, we walk invisible."

Dr Derham (Physico-Theology, book x. p. 410. 7th edit.) disproves this opinion: *Filicem, reliquasque capillares herbas semine carere veteres plerique—prodidere: quos etiam secuti sunt e recentioribus nonnulli, Dodonæus, &c. —Alii e contra, Bauhinus, &c. Filices, et congeneres, spermatophoras esse contendunt: partim, quia historia creationis, Gen. ii. 12, &c. verissimam esse Autopsia convincit.*

Fredericus Caesias, he saith, was the first that discovered these seeds by the help of a microscope, and since him Mr W. C. (Will. Cole), hath more critically observed them. See more, p. 410, 414.

ψ. 8. *Than Hags, with all their Imps and Teats.*] \* Alluding to the vulgar opinion, that witches have their imps, or familiar spirits, that are employed in their diabolical practices, and suck private teats they have about them.

ψ. 10. *Than all their nurseries of elves.*] A sneer upon the tales of fables told to children in the nursery.

ψ. 15. *As Rosicrucian Virtuofos, &c.*] \* The Rosicrucians were a sect that appeared in Germany, in the beginning of the 17th age. They are also called the *Inlightned, Immortal and Invisible*; they are a very enthusiastical sort of men, and hold many wild and extravagant opinions. The Rosicrucian philosophers held a millenium. *Vide Jo. Gerhardi Loc. Theologic. tom. 9. col. 331.*

And when they neither see nor hear,  
 Have more than both supply'd by fear;  
 That makes 'em in the dark see Visions,  
 And hag themselves with Apparitions; 20  
 And when their eyes discover least,  
 Discern the subtlest objects best;  
 Do things, not contrary, alone,  
 To th' course of nature, but its own;  
 The courage of the bravest daunt, 25  
 And turn poltroons as valiant:  
*For men as resolute appear,*  
*With too much, as too little fear;*  
 And when they're out of hopes of flying,  
 Will run away from death by dying: 30  
 Or turn again to stand it out,  
 And those they fled, like lions, rout.  
 This Hudibras had prov'd too true,  
 Who by the furies, left perdue  
 And haunted with detachments, sent 35  
 From Marshal Legion's Regiment,  
 Was by a Fiend, as counterfeit,  
 Reliev'd and rescu'd with a cheat;  
 When nothing but himself, and fear,  
 Was both the Imps and Conjuror: 40  
 As, by the rules o' th' Virtuosi,  
 It follows in due form of poësie.

ψ. 36. *From Marshal Legion's Regiment.*] Alluding to Stephen Marshal's bellowing out treason from a pulpit, in order to recruit the army of the rebels. He was called the *Geneva Bull*.

"Or roar, like Marshal, that Geneva-bull,

"Hell and damnation a pulpit full."

Cleveland's *Rebel Scot*. Works, 1677, p. 49. And Dr Bruno Ryve's *Mercurius Rusticus*, p. 155. calls him the *Arch Flamen* of the rebels. See a further account of him, Walker's *History of Independency*, part i. p. 79, 80.

Disguis'd in all the masks of night,  
 We left our champion on his flight,  
 At Blindman's Buff, to grope his way, 45  
 In equal Fear of Night and Day :  
 Who took his dark and desp'rate course,  
 He knew no better than his horse ;  
 And by an unknown devil led,  
 (He knew as little whether) fled. 50  
 He never was in greater need,  
 Nor less capacity of speed ;  
 Disabled, both in man and beast,  
 To fly and run away, *his best* ;  
 To keep the enemy, and fear, 55  
 From equal falling on his rear.  
 And though with kicks and bangs he ply'd  
 The further, and the nearer side ;  
 As Seamen ride with all their force,  
 And *tug* as if they row'd the horse ; 60  
 And when the hackney fails most swift,  
 Believe they *lag*, or *run a-drift* ;  
 So though he posted e'er so fast,  
 His fear was greater than his haste :

V. 59, 60. *As Seamen ride with all their force,—And tug as if they row'd the horse.*] John Taylor, the *Water-poet*, (in his tract entitled, *A Navy of Land Ships*, p. 87.) banters the seamen as bad horsemen. He observes, " That  
 " mariners are commonly the worst horsemen. As one of  
 " them being upon a tired hackney, his companions prayed  
 " him to ride faster, he said, he was becalmed: another  
 " mounted upon a foundered jade, that stumbled three or  
 " four times headlong; the sailor imagined that his horse  
 " was too much laden a-head, or forward on, (as the sea  
 " phrase is) and therefore to ballast him, that he might go,  
 " or sail with an even keel, he alighted, and filled his jer-  
 " kin sleeves full of stones, and tied them fast to his horse's  
 " crupper, supposing thereby to make his stern as deep laden  
 " as his head, to avoid stumbling."

For Fear, though fleetier than the wind, 65  
Believes 'tis always left behind.

But when the morn began t' appear,  
And shift t' *another scene* his fear;

He found his new officious Shade, 70  
That came so timely to his aid,

And forc'd him from the foe t' escape,  
Had turn'd itself to Ralpho's shape,  
So like in Person, Garb, and Pitch,  
'Twas hard t' interpret *which was which*.

For Ralpho had no sooner told 75  
The lady all he had t' unfold,

But she convey'd him out of sight,  
To entertain th' approaching Knight:

And while he gave himself diversion, 80  
T' accommodate his Beast and Person,

And put his Beard into a posture  
At best advantage to accost her,

She order'd th' Antimasquerade:  
(For his reception) *aforsaid*:

But when the Ceremony was done, 85  
The *lights put out, and furies gone*;

And Hudibras, among the rest,  
Convey'd away, as Ralpho guess't;

Y. 67. *But when the morn began t' appear.*] I have before observed, that we may trace our heroes morning and night. This particular is always essential in poetry, to avoid confusion and disputes among the critics. How would they have calculated the number of days taken up in the Iliad, Aeneid, and Paradise Lost, if the poets had not been careful to lead them into the momentous discovery? Mr Butler is as clear in this point as any of them; for, from opening of these adventures, every morning and night have been poetically described: and now we are arrived at the third day. Mr B.

Y. 83. *But she convey'd him, &c.*] First edit. 1678. Altered 1684, to convey'd.



The wretched Caitiff all alone  
 (As he believ'd) began to moan, 90  
 And tell his story to himself;  
 The Knight mistook him for an elf:  
 And did so still, till he began  
 To scruple at Ralph's outward man;  
 And thought, because they oft agreed 95  
 T' appear in one another's stead,  
 And act the Saint's and Devil's part,  
 With undistinguishable art,  
 They might have done so now, perhaps,  
 And put on one another's shapes; 100  
 And therefore, to resolve the doubt,  
 He star'd upon him, and cry'd out,  
 What art? My Squire, or that bold sprite  
 That took his place and shape to-night?

Y. 102, 103, 104. *He star'd upon him, and cry'd out,—What art? My Squire, or that bold sprite—That took his place and shape to-night?*] Here is an amazing discovery opened! The Knight's dreadful apprehensions vanish with the night. No sooner does the day break, but with joy he perceives his mistake; he finds Ralpho in his company instead of an elf, or a ghost: upon this he is agreeably surprised, as he was before terribly affrighted. But let us examine whether this meeting, and the reconciliation that followed it, are naturally brought about, since the day before they had mutually resolved to abandon each other. I think he hath judiciously formed this incident: for it is plain the Knight and the Squire were conscious they had wronged one another, the one by his base intentions, and the other by his treachery and gross imposition; but very fortunately they were ignorant of each other's designs; and consequently each thought himself the offender: it is therefore natural and probable that they should easily come to a good understanding. The Knight compounds with the Squire for his imposition as a ghost, not only from a sense of his own base intentions, but for the happy escape from witches, spirits and elves, from which the Squire pretends to have freed him. On the other hand, the Squire is will-

Some busy Independent pug, 105  
Retainer to his synagogue?

Alas! quoth he, I'm none of those  
Your bosom friends, as you suppose;  
But Ralph himself, your trusty Squire,  
Wh' has dragg'd your Dunship out o' the mire, 110  
And from th' enchantments of a widow,  
Wh' had turn'd you int' a beast, have freed you;  
And, though a prisoner of war,  
Have brought you safe, where now you are;  
Which you would gratefully repay, 115  
Your constant Presbyterian way.

That's stranger (quoth the Knight) and stranger!  
Who gave thee notice of my danger?

Quoth he, Th' infernal conjurer  
Pursu'd, and took me prisoner; 120  
And knowing you were hereabout,  
Brought me along, to find you out.  
Where I, in hugger-mugger hid,  
Have noted all they said or did:  
And though they lay to him the pageant, 125  
I did not see him, nor his agent;  
Who play'd their forceries out of sight,  
T' avoid a fiercer second fight.  
But didst thou see no devils then?  
Not one (quoth he) but carnal men, 130

ing to re-enter into the Knight's service, and to attend him once more in his peregrinations, when he found this sham meritorious action had deluded him into a suspension of that resentment which he might justly have exerted. Thus are they fortunately reconciled, and thus are these momentous adventures continued, to the satisfaction of the reader, and applause of the Poet. (Mr B.) *Spright*, in all editions to 1726 inclusive. *Spright*, edition 1739.

Y. 110. — *Dunship*, in all editions to 1710. *Denship*, in later editions.

A little worse than fiends in hell,  
 And that she-devil Jezebel;  
 That laugh'd and tee-he'd with derision,  
 To see them take your deposition.

What then (quoth Hudibras) was he, 135  
 That play'd the dev'l to examine me?  
 A rallying weaver in the town,

That did it in a parson's gown;  
 Whom all the parish takes for gifted,  
 But, for my part, I ne'er believ'd it: 140

In which you told them all your feats,  
 Your conscientious frauds and cheats;  
 Deny'd your whipping, and confess't  
 The naked truth of all the rest,  
 More plainly than the rev'rend writer, 145  
 That to our Churches veil'd his miter.

Y. 132. *And that she-devil Jezebel.*] See Spectator's description of a Jezebel, No. 175.

Y. 137. *A rallying weaver in the town.*] See Mr Butler's Fable of a Lion and the Fox. Remains.

Y. 145, 146. — *than the rev'rend writer, — That to our Churches veil'd his miter.*] Though there were more than one in those times that this character would have suited, yet it is probable that Mr George Graham, bishop of Orkney, is sneered in this place by Mr Butler. He was so base as to renounce and abjure episcopacy, signing the abjuration with his own hand, at Brecknell's in Strones, Feb. 11. 1639. (See Mr Gordon's History of the illustrious Family of Gordon, vol. ii. p. 315.) To this remarkable incident Bishop Hall alludes, (Epistle Dedicatory prefixed to his Episcopacy by Divine Right, &c. 1640, p. 1.) where he observes, "That he craved pardon for having accepted his Episcopal function, as if he had thereby committed some heinous offence." Upon which he uses the following exclamation: (Episcopacy, &c. p. 1.) "Good God, what is this that I have lived to hear? That a Bishop in a Christian assembly should renounce his Episcopal function, and cry mercy for his now abandoned calling." See

All which they took in black and white,  
And cudgell'd me to under-write.

What made thee, when they all were gone,  
And none, but thou and I alone, 150  
To act the devil, and forbear  
To rid me of my *hellish* fear?

Quoth he, I knew your constant rate,  
And frame of sp'rit, too obstinate,  
To be by me prevail'd upon, 155  
With any motives of my own :  
And therefore strove to counterfeit  
The dev'l a-while, to nick your wit ;

Rushworth's Collections, vol. iii. last edit. p. 957. Nalson's Collections, vol. i. p. 252.

There was another Scotchman, Archibald Adair, Bishop of Killala in Ireland, who was deprived of his bishopric for speaking in favour of the rebellious Scotch Covenanters; but was promoted to the see of Waterford, after the Earl of Strafford's death. Carte's History of the Life of James the first Duke of Ormond, vol. i. p. 95. 193.

The writer of the printed notes insinuates, That the Archbishop of York is here intended; but he is certainly mistaken: for Archbishop Williams was as much hated by the fanatics of those times as any one of his order. In a libel entitled, The Character of an Oxford Incendiary, p. 4. he is treated in the following indecent manner: "And now we talk of preferment,—enter Owen Glendour on horse-back, Brute's cousin-german, and top of his kindred, Welsh Williams, prelate of York: this is the pepper-nosed caliph, that snuffs, puffs, and huffs ingratitude to the Parliament, though they freed him from prison, and put his adversary in his room. Tell him of reformation, and you transform him into a turkey-cock: a Jack of Lent, made of a leek and red-herring, will not more inflame him than the name of Presbytery."

And I find, in an original letter in Dr Williams's MS collections, from Sir William Breerton to the Speaker, a complaint against the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Chester, St Asaph, and Bangor, for fortifying Conway-Castle against the Parliament.

The devil, that is your constant Crony,  
That only can prevail upon ye; 160  
Else we might still have been disputing,  
And they with weighty drubs confuting.

The Knight, who now began to find  
Th' had left the enemy behind,  
And saw no farther harm remain, 165  
But feeble weariness and pain;  
Perceiv'd, by losing of their way,  
Th' had gain'd th' advantage of the day;  
And by declining of the road,  
They had, by chance, their rear made good; 170  
He ventur'd to dismiss his Fear,  
That parting's wont to rant and tear,  
And give the desperat'st attack  
To danger still behind its back.  
For, having paus'd to recollect, 175  
And on his past success reflect,  
T' examine and consider why,  
And whence, and how he came to fly,  
And when no devil had appear'd,  
What else, it cou'd be said, he fear'd; 180  
It put him in so fierce a rage,  
He once resolv'd to re-engage;  
Toss'd like a foot-ball back again,  
With Shame, and Vengeance, and Disdain.  
Quoth he, It was thy cowardise, 185  
That made me from this leaguer rise;  
And when I 'ad half reduc'd the place,  
To quit it infamously base:  
Was better cover'd by the new  
Arriv'd detachment, than I knew: 190  
To slight my new acquests, and run  
Victoriously from battles won;



And reck'ning all I gain'd or lost,  
 To sell them cheaper than they cost ;  
 To make me put myself to flight ; 195  
 And, conqu'ring, run away by night ;  
 To drag me out, which th' haughty foe  
 Durst never have presum'd to do ;  
 To mount me in the dark by force,  
 Upon the bare ridge of my horse, 200  
 Expos'd in querpo to their rage,  
 Without my arms and equipage ;  
 Lest, if they ventur'd to pursue,  
 I might th' unequal fight renew :  
 And, to preserve thy outward man, 205  
 Assum'd my place, and led the van.

All this, quoth Ralph, I did, 'tis true,  
 Not to preserve myself, but you.  
 You, who were damn'd to baser drubs  
 Than wretches feel in powd'ring tubs, 210  
 To mount two-wheel'd carroches, worse  
 Than managing a wooden horse :  
 Dragg'd out through straiter holes by th' ears,  
 Eras'd, or coup'd for perjurers.  
 Who, though th' attempt had prov'd in vain, 215  
 Had *had* no reason to complain ;  
 But since it prosper'd, 'tis unhandsome  
 To blame the hand that paid your rancome ;  
 And rescu'd your obnoxious bones  
 From unavoidable battoons. 220  
 The enemy was reforc'd,  
 And we disabled, and unhors'd,

Y. 211. *To mount two-wheel'd carroches.*] A cart in  
 which criminals are carried to be hanged. Dr Bailey, in  
 his *Wall-flower*, written in Newgate, and published 1650,  
 p. 60. uses the word *caroach* for coach.

Disarm'd, unqualify'd for fight,  
 And no way left but hasty flight,  
 Which, though as desp'rate in th' attempt, 225  
 Has giv'n you freedom to condemn 't.

But were our bones in fit condition  
 To reinforce the expedition,  
 'Tis now unseasonable, and vain,  
 To think of falling on again : 230  
 No martial project to surprize,  
 Can ever be attempted twice ;  
 Nor cast design serve afterwards,  
 As gamesters tear their losing-cards.  
 Beside, our bangs of man and beast 235  
 Are fit for nothing now but rest ;  
 And for a-while will not be able  
 To rally, and prove serviceable.  
 And therefore I, with reason, chose  
 'This stratagem, t' amuse our foes ; 240  
 To make an honourable retreat,  
 And wave a total sure defeat :  
 For those that fly may fight again,  
 Which he can never do that's slain.

Ψ. 243. *For those that fly may fight again.*] A saying of Demosthenes, who fled from Philip of Macedon, when he obtained a great victory over the Athenians at Cheronaea, a village of Boeotia; and being reproached for it, he made the following answer: 'Αυτῷ, inquit, ὁ φεύγων,—Πάλιν μάχισται. *Auli Gellii Noct. Attic. lib. xvii, 21.* See a farther account of the cowardice of Demosthenes, *Diodori Siculi Bibliothec. p. 380.* "Be pacified, (says the Curate "to Don Quixote, upon one of his misadventures, vol. i. "p. 56.) Fortune may have yet better success in reserve "for you; and they who lose to-day, may win to-morrow." Of Demosthenes's opinion was the cowardly soldier, (see *L'Estrange's Fables, part ii. fab. 59.*) "who being tried by "a council of war for cowardise, pleaded for himself, That "he did not run away for fear of the enemy; but only to

Canto III. H U D I B R A S. 257

Hence timely running's no mean part 245  
 Of conduct, in the martial art;  
 By which some glorious feats atchieve,  
 As citizens, by breaking, thrive;  
 And cannons conquer armies, while  
 They seem to draw off and recoil; 250  
 Is held the gallant'st course, and bravest,  
 To great exploits, as well as safest;  
 That spares th' expence of time and pains,  
 And dangerous beating out of brains;  
 And in the end prevails as certain 255  
 As those that never trust to fortune,  
 But make their fear do execution  
 Beyond the stoutest resolution;  
 As earthquakes kill without a blow,  
 And, only trembling, overthrow. 260  
 If th' Ancients crown'd their bravest men,  
 That only sav'd a citizen,

"try how long a paltry carcase might last a man with good  
 "looking to."

From this saying of Demosthenes, the Italians might probably borrow their following proverb:

*Emaglio che si dieu, qui fuggi, che qui mori.* "Its better  
 "it should be said, Here he run away, than Here he was  
 "slain." Select Proverbs—Italian. London, 1707, p. 12.

ψ. 245, 246, 247. *Hence timely running's no mean part  
 —Of conduct in the martial art;—By which some glorious  
 feats atchieve.*] See Note on Part I. and Canto iii. ψ. 607,  
 608, &c. An account of Mark Anthony's brave retreat from  
 his Parthian expedition. Lewis's History of the Parthian  
 Empire, p. 161.

"A prudent chief not always must display  
 "His powers in equal rank, and fair array;  
 "But with th' occasion and the place comply,  
 "Conceal his force, nay, seem sometimes to fly.  
 "Those oft are stratagems which errors seem;  
 "Nor is it Homer nods, but we that dream."

Mr Pope's Essay on Criticism.

What victory could e'er be won,  
 If ev'ry one would save but one?  
 Or fight endanger'd to be lost, 265  
 Where all resolve to save the most?  
 By this means, when a battle's won,  
 The war's as far from being done:  
 For those that save themselves, and fly,  
 Go halves, at least, i' th' victory; 270  
 And sometime, when the loss is small,  
 And danger great, they challenge all;  
 Print new additions to their feats,  
 And emendations in gazets:

*ψ.* 261, 262. *If th' Ancients crown'd their bravest men,  
 That only sav'd a citizen.*] The *corona civica* was given  
 to any soldier that had, in battle, saved the life of a Roman  
 citizen, by killing at the same time an enemy; and though  
 it was composed of no better materials than oaken boughs,  
 yet it was esteemed more honourable than any other crown.  
 Virgil calls it *civilis quercus*, *Aen.* vi. 771, 772.

*Qui juvenes, quantas ostentant, aspice vires:*

*At qui umbrata gerunt civili tempora quercu.*

See an account of the honours conferred on those persons  
 that had merited it. Antiquity explain'd, by Mountfaucon,  
 vol. IV. part i. chap. vii. p. 106. Dr Kennet's Antiquities  
 of Rome, part ii. chap. 16. Dr Middleton's Life of Cicero,  
 vol. i. 4to edition, p. 47, 48. *Vide etiam Auli Gellii Noct.  
 Attic. lib. v. cap. 6. Reusneri Symbol. Imperator. class. 1.  
 symbol. xxvii. p. 36.*

*ψ.* 271. *And sometime, when the loss is small, &c.*] Af-  
 ter a battle, the rebels, if they found their loss was small,  
 they represented it to the people as a great victory gained,  
 and made bonfires, and appointed a public thanksgiving  
 for it; by which they kept up the spirit of the party.  
*Dr B.*

*ψ.* 274. *And emendations in gazets.*] I don't remember  
 to have met with any such paper printed in those rebellious  
 times; though there was a paper with that title early in the  
 reign of King James I. as appears from John Donne's Verses  
 upon T. Coriat's Crudities, published 1611.

And when, for furious haste to run, 275  
 They durst not stay to fire a gun,  
 Have done't with bonfires, and at home  
 Made squibs and crackers overcome;  
 To set the rabble on a flame,  
 And keep their governors from blame, 280  
 Disperse the news, the pulpit tells,  
 Confirm'd with fire-works, and with bells :  
 And though reduc'd to that extreme,  
 They have been forc'd to sing *Te Deum*;

" Munster did towns, and Gefner authors shew,

" Mount now—To Gallo-Belgicus appear,

" As deep a statesman as a gazeteer."

See likewise R. Riecomontanus's Verses upon the Crudities.

The Gazettes began first to be regularly printed in King Charles the II.'s time, in the year 1665, the year of the plague: the first number dated Nov. 7. 1665. There is a complete collection of Gazettes from that time to Dec. 30. 1703, in thirteen volumes folio, in Mr Pepys's library in Magdalen-College, Cambridge; in Lord Oxford's library, a complete set to the year 1739 inclusive, in thirty-four volumes. *Cat. Bibliothec. Harleian.* vol. ii. p. 740. See the etymology. *Junii Etymol. Anglican.*

Y. 284. *They have been forc'd to sing Te Deum.*] This they frequently did, though beaten. And it was their custom likewise to sing a psalm before an engagement: to which Mr Cotton (*Virgil Travestie*, book iv. p. 146.) compares the dismal howlings of Queen Dido's domestics, when they discovered that she had hanged herself.

" Even like unto the dismal yowl,

" When trisful dogs at midnight howl;

" Or like the dirges that through nose

" Humm'd out to damp their Pagan foes,

" When holy Roundheads go to battle,

" With such a yell did Carthage rattle."

We know it has been customary in other nations, upon an imaginary victory, nay, sometimes a defeat, to sing *Te Deum*. Mahmut ridicules this custom among Christians in a remarkable manner, and with a seeming justness: " I have been (says he) at a ceremony which I am willing



Yet, with religious blasphemy,  
 By flattering Heaven with a lie;  
 And for their beating, giving thanks,  
 Th' have rais'd recruits, and fill'd their banks;

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“ to see often, to give an account of it in my letters: it is  
 “ the *Te Deum* which Christian princes cause to be sung in  
 “ their churches, on the gaining any considerable advan-  
 “ tage over their enemies; which *Te Deum* is a hymn com-  
 “ posed by two of their saints, to wit, Ambrose and Auslin.  
 “ When the French beat the Spaniards, they sing the *Te*  
 “ *Deum*; and when these vanquish their enemies, they do  
 “ the same. These two nations do the duty of the Mussul-  
 “ men, in destroying one another; and when this is done,  
 “ they give God thanks for the evil they had committed.”  
 Turkish Spy, vol. i. p. 5.

ψ. 286. *By flattering Heaven with a lie;*] There are many instances of this kind upon record: “ You mocked  
 “ God (says the author of A Letter sent to London from a  
 “ Spy at Oxford, p. 10.) in your public thanksgivings for  
 “ your invisible victories, when you were publicly beaten:  
 “ as at Edge-hill, when you and the saw-pit Lord, (viz.  
 “ Philip Lord Wharton, who hid himself in a saw-pit),  
 “ with some others, did make people believe lies, on pur-  
 “ pose to gull them of their monies.”

ψ. 287. *And for their beating, giving thanks.*] Mr Walker (History of Independency, part ii. p. 174.) gives a remarkable instance of this kind: “ Popham (says he) was the man  
 “ who, on the 4th of June, 1649, gave a dismal relation to  
 “ the high and mighty states at Whitehall, of his ill suc-  
 “ cesses in tampering with the Governor of Kingsale, in Ire-  
 “ land, who, being honestier than the saints expected, took  
 “ a sum of money of him to betray the town, and fort,  
 “ and ships in the road; but when Popham came into the  
 “ road, to take possession of his new purchase, gave him  
 “ such a gunpowder welcome, that he lost most of his men  
 “ landed to take Livery and Seisin, and divers ships. He  
 “ was commanded to conceal the ill news, and make a dis-  
 “ ferent report to the plebeians of the Commons House of  
 “ his success, &c. (see Whitelock's Memorials, p. 406. 2d  
 “ edit.), which occasioned an order, the 15th of June, That  
 “ for this remarkable additional mercy bestowed upon them  
 “ in the prosperous success given to their fleet at sea, upon  
 “ Thursday next, the day set apart for thanksgiving, their

For those who run from th' enemy,  
Engage them equally to fly ;  
And when the fight becomes a chace,  
Those win the day, that win the race ;

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" ministers should praise God." " Lord, (says Mr Walker),  
" since these audacious saints are so thankful to thee for  
" one beating, bestow many more beatings upon them, for  
" they deserve all thy corrections." See likewise History of  
Independency, 1st part, p. 86.

" Nay, to th' Almighty's self they have been bold

" To lie, and their blasphemous minister told,

" They might say false to God, for if they were

" Beaten, he knew't not, for he was not there.

" But God, who their great thankfulness did see,

" Reward them straight with another victory !

" Just such a one as Brainsford ; and sans doubt,

" 'Twill weary ere't be long their gratitude out."

Mr Cowley's Puritan and Papist, p. 1, 2.

" But, oh ! your faith is mighty, that has been,

" As true faith ought to be, of things unseen.

" At Worc'ster, Brainsford, and Edge-hill we see,

" Only by faith, y' have got the victory.

" Such is your faith, and some such unseen way,

" The public faith at last your debts will pay \*."

" At Keinton, Brainsford, Plymouth, York,

" And divers places more,

" What victories we saints obtain,

" The like ne'er seen before :

" How often we Prince Rupert kill'd,

" And bravely won the day ;

" The wicked Cavaliers did run

" The quite contrary way."

On Colonel Venn's Encouragement to his Soldiers. Col-  
lection of Loyal Songs, republished 1731, vol. I. No. xlii.  
p. 105.

y. 289, 290. *For those who run from th' enemy,—Engage  
them equally to fly.*] Of this opinion, probably, was that  
humorous traveller, who, relating some of his adventures,  
told the company, that he and his servant made fifty wild  
Arabians run: which startling them, he observed, that  
there was no great matter in it; for (says he) we run, and  
they ran after us.

\* *Id. ib.* p. 3. See more, p. 2.

And that which would not pass in fights,  
 Has done the feat with easy flights;  
 Recover'd many a desp'rate campaign 295  
 With Bourdeaux, Burgundy, and Champaign;  
 Restor'd the fainting high and mighty  
 With brandy-wine, and *Aquavita*;  
 And made 'em stoutly overcome  
 With bacrack, hoccamore, and mum; 300  
 Whom the uncontroul'd decrees of fate  
 To victory necessitate;  
 With which, although they run or burn,  
 They unavoidably return:  
 Or else their sultan populaces 305  
 Still strangle all their routed bassa's.  
 Quoth Hudibras, I understand  
 What fights thou mean'st at sea and land,  
 And who those were that run away,  
 And yet gave out th' had won the day; 310

Ψ. 300. *With bacrack.*] Or *baccharack*. A wine from Bachiaera, a town on the Rhine, upon the Palatinate, whence it has its name. Bailey. *Bacrach*, edit. 1684. and following editions.

Ibid. — *Hoccamore.*] *Old Hock*. A sort of Rhenish wine, so called from the village of Hockheim on the Maine, opposite to Mentz. Bailey.

Ψ. 305. *Or else their sultan populaces, &c.*] \* The Author compares the arbitrary actions of the ungovernable mob, to the Sultan or Grand Seignior, who very seldom fails to sacrifice any of his chief commanders, called *bassas*, if they prove unsuccessful in battle. See Knowles's, and Sir Paul Rycaut's Histories of the Turks; and Mr Fenton's Observations on some of Waller's Poems, p. 70.

Ψ. 309, 310. *And who those were that run away,—And yet gave out th' had won the day.*] Alluding, probably, to Sir William Waller's defeat at Roundway Downe; which the soldiers ever after called *Runaway Downe*. Mr White-lock makes the rout to be occasioned by a panic fear in the parliament horse. But Lord Hollis charges it upon the un-

Although the rabble souc'd them for 't,  
O'er head and ears in mud and dirt.

skillfulness and cowardice of Sir Arthur Haslerig: it gave occasion for much rejoicing, and pleasant raillery among the Cavaliers; and Cleveland thus plays upon both those commanders. (Character of a London Diurnal.) "This is William, who is the city's champion, and the Diurnal's delight. Yet in all this triumph, translate the scene but to Roundway Downe, there Haslerig's lobsters (see reason why so called, Echard's History of England, vol. ii. p. 418.) were turned into crabs, and crawled backwards.—There poor Sir William ran to his lady for a use of consolation."

"Sir William at Runaway Downe had a bout,

"Which him and his lobsters did totally rout,

"And his lady the conqueror could not help him out.

"Which no body can deny."

The Rump Carbonado'd. Col. of Loyal Songs, vol. ii. No. 26.

Mr Whitelock says, (Memorials, page 70.), that Waller posted up to London, and by his presence silenced invectives against him.

And the author of the Letter from a Spy at Oxford, (p. 8.), speaking of Sir William Waller at Runaway Downe, or Roundhead Downe—(as he calls it) says, "Brave William had a beating with a witness, being totally routed by Prince Maurice, and Sir John Byron. (And this was the twelfth conquest, which made up the conqueror's brown dozen in number, compared to the twelve labours of Hercules.)—For these great victories, so happily gained by this old beaten conquering commander, he was pompously received into London, with little less than a Roman triumph, on Tuesday the 25th of July: the Lord Mayor's show was nothing to it: there wanted nothing but a Galley-foist, and then all had been near complete. The people swarmed about him like caterpillars: every one glutted their eyes in gazing on this conquered Agamemnon: and a thousand voices cried, A Waller, A Waller!" Upon which he remarks, (page 10.), "Thus you mocked God, the King, and the people; and by this means you have caused Pagan and Heathen idolatry to be committed. First, To Bacchus there hath been offered hundreds of hecatombs of health, and carouses: and, Secondly, Your burnt-sacrifices to Vulcan, have been innumerably blazed in bonfires, fire and faggots, guns, flames, pipe and smoke."

'Tis true, our modern way of war  
 Is grown more politic by far,  
 But not so resolute and bold, 315  
 Nor ty'd to honour, as the old.  
 For now they laugh at giving battle,  
 Unless it be to herds of cattle;  
 Or fighting convoys of provision,  
 The whole design o' the expedition : 320  
 And not with downright blows to rout  
 The enemy, but eat them out :  
 As fighting, in all beasts of prey,  
 And eating, are perform'd one way;  
 To give defiance to their teeth, 325  
 And fight their stubborn guts to death;  
 And those atchieve the high'st renown,  
 That bring the other stomachs down.  
 There's now no fear of wounds, nor maiming,  
 All dangers are reduc'd to famine ; 330  
 And feats of arms, to plot, design,  
 Surprize, and stratagem, and mine :  
 But have no need nor use of courage,  
 Unless it be for glory, or forage :  
 For if they fight, 'tis but by chance, 335  
 When one side vent'ring to advance,  
 And come uncivilly too near,  
 Are charg'd unmercifully i' th' rear ;  
 And forc'd, with terrible resistance,  
 To keep hereafter at a distance, 340  
 To pick out ground to incamp upon,  
 Where store of largest rivers run,  
 That serve, instead of peaceful barriers,  
 To part th' engagements of their warriors ;

y. 328. ——— *the other stomachs.*] Edition 1700, and following ones.



Where both from side to side may skip, 345  
 And only encounter at bo-peep :  
 For men are found the stouter-hearted,  
 The certainer th' are to be parted ;  
 And therefore post themselves in bogs,  
 As th' ancient mice attack'd the frogs ; 350  
 And made their mortal enemy,  
 The Water-rat, their strict ally.  
 For 'tis not now, who's stout and bold ?  
 But who bears hunger best, and cold ?  
 And he's approv'd the most deserving, 355  
 Who longest can hold out at starving ;

ψ. 347, 348. *For men are found the stouter-hearted,—The certainer th' are to be parted.*] See Montaigne's Essays, vol. ii. chap. II. book xvi. p. 450, &c. Spectator, No. 131.

ψ. 350. *As th' ancient mice attack'd the frogs;*] \*Homer wrote a Poem of the war between the mice and the frogs.

ψ. 351, 352. *And made their mortal enemy,—The Water-rat, their strict ally.*] Meaning the Dutch, who seemed to favour the Parliamentarians. Mr W.

ψ. 355, 356. *And he's approv'd the most deserving,—Who longest can hold out at starving.*] An Ordinance was passed March 26, 1644, for the contribution of one meal a week towards the charge of the army. Remarkable was the case of Cecily de Rygeyway, indicted the 31st of Edward III. A. D. 1347, for the murder of her husband ; who refusing to plead, was adjudged at last to fast forty days together in close prison, without meat or drink, which she did. (See the record in proof, History of the most remarkable Trials of Great Britain, in capital Cases, published 1705. p. 52, 53.) Dr Plot (History of Staffordshire, chap. viii. §. 47, 48.) has given this, with two other remarkable instances of this kind ; namely, of William Francis, who wilfully fasted fourteen days, being melancholy mad, and of John Scot, a Scotchman, who abstained from meat thirty or forty days. Others have carried this point much further, and their accounts greatly exceed belief.

Picus Mirandula mentions (from Roger Bacon) two English women : one who had fasted twenty days, and the other

And he that routs most pigs and cows,  
 The formidablest man of prowess.  
 So th' Emperor Caligula,  
 That triumph'd o'er the British sea, 360  
 Took crabs and oysters prisoners,  
 And lobsters 'stead of cuirassiers;  
 Engag'd his legions in fierce bustles  
 With periwinkles, prawns, and muscles;  
 And led his troops with furious gallops, 365  
 To charge whole regiments of scallops;  
 Not like their ancient way of war,  
 To wait on his triumphal car:  
 But when he went to dine or sup,  
 More bravely ate his captives up; 370

forty. (*Jo. Fra. Pici Mirandula de Rer. pranotione, lib. iii. tom. 2. Op. Basileæ.*) See more instances, *Jo. Fra. Pici Mirandula Exam. de Doctrin. Vanitat. Gentium, lib. II. tom. ii. p. 565. Aegidii Menagii Observat. in Diogen. Laert. lib. ii. segm. 143.* See the Life of Martha Taylor, who lived one Year without the Use of Meat or Drink, 8vo, 1669. *Catalog. Bibliothec. Harleian. vol. ii. p. 596. No. 9763.* And Reynolds's Discourse upon the prodigious Abstinence occasioned by the twelve Months fasting of Martha Taylor, the famous Derbyshire Damozel, 1669. *Id. ib. pag. 918. No. 14223.* Derham's Physico-Theology, book IV. chap. xi. p. 211, 212, 7th edition. An account of a woman who had lain six days covered with snow, without receiving any nourishment, *Philosophical Transactions, vol. xxviii. for the year 1713. p. 265, &c.* And a Copy of an Affidavit made in Scotland, concerning a boy's living a considerable time without food. *Philosophical Transactions, vol. XXXI. No. cccxi. p. 29.*

Y. 359. *So th' Emperor Caligula.*] See an account of this famous expedition in Suetonius. *Caligal. lib. iv. cap. 46.* Echard's Roman History, vol. ii. p. 98, 99. Rapin's History of England, translated by Mr Tindal, folio edition, vol. i. page 12.

Y. 369, 370. *But when he went to dine or sup,—More bravely ate his captives up.*] The courage of many of the

And left all war, by his example,  
 Reduc'd to vict'ling of a camp well.

Quoth Ralph, By all that you have said,  
 And twice as much that I cou'd add,  
 'Tis plain, you cannot now do worse, 375  
 Than take this out-of-fashion'd course ;  
 To hope, by stratagem, to woo her,  
 Or waging battle to subdue her :  
 Tho' some have done it in romances,  
 And bang'd them into amorous fancies ; 380  
 As those who won the Amazons,  
 By wanton drubbing of their bones :  
 And stout Rinaldo gain'd his bride,  
 By courting of her back and side.

heroes of those times consisted in their teeth. Sir William Brereton, the famous Cheshire Knight, is thus characterised by Mr Cleveland, (*Character of a London Diurnal*, Works, 1677. p. 118.), " Was Brereton (says he) to fight with his teeth, as he in all other things resembles the beast, he " would have odds of any man at this weapon. Oh ! he's " a terrible slaughter-man at a thanksgiving dinner. Had " he been Cannibal enough to have eaten those he vanquish-  
 " ed, his gut would have made him valiant."

" Will. Brereton's a finner,  
 " And Croyden knows a winner ;  
 " But O take heed lest he do eat  
 " The Rump all at one dinner."

*Loyal Songs*, vol. ii. p. 55. See a further character of him, Mr Carte's *Life of the Duke of Ormond*, vol. i. p. 471. *Impartial Examination of Mr Neal's 4th volume of the History of the Puritans*, p. 45.

" A man of stomach of the next deal  
 " Was hungry Colonel Cobbet,  
 " Who would eat at one meal  
 " A commonwealth,  
 " And make a joint but a gobbet."

*Collection of Loyal Songs*, vol. ii. p. 157.

ψ. 383, 384. *And stout Rinaldo gain'd his bride,—By courting of her back and side.*] \* A story in Tasso, an Ita-

But since those times and feats are over, 385  
 They are not for a modern lover ;  
 When mistresses are too cross-grain'd,  
 By such addressies to be gain'd :  
 And if they were, wou'd have it out,  
 With many another kind of bout. 390  
 Therefore I hold no course s' infeasible,  
 As this of force to win the Jezebel ;  
 To storm her heart, by th' antic charms  
 Of ladies errant, force of arms ;

lian poet, of a hero that gain'd his mistress by conquering her party.

This account is not literally true of Rinaldo, one of the principal heroes concerned in the siege of Jerusalem, against the infidel Saracens. Armida, a beautiful Queen, was in love with him, and had by magic engaged his affections. But when, by the assistance of his friends, he broke loose from her snares, and left her, she vow'd revenge, and offered to marry any one of these Pagan Princes, who came to Saladin's assistance, provided they could take off Rinaldo in battle, (though she still retain'd a secret affection for him), but when he had slain with his own hand all those princes, who had rashly undertaken his death, she fled from him with a design of taking away her own life ; but he pursued and prevented it ; and his love re-kindled by her heavy complaints against him : and when she had given them vent, in the most moving and passionate terms, he convinced her that his affection for her was as strong as ever, which brought about a reconciliation. Fairfax's *Godfrey of Bulloigne*, book xx. St. 128. to 136. p. 650, 651, 652. See Mr Fenton's *Waller*, 1729. p. 278. *Observations*, p. 83. *Spectator*, No. 14.

This suits as well with what Shakespeare mentions of Theseus and Hippolyta (in his *Midsummer's Night's Dream*, vol. i. p. 79.) Theseus speaks to Hippolyta in the following manner. " Hippolyta, I woo'd thee with my sword, and won thy love, doing thee injuries : but I will wed thee " in another key, with pomp, with triumph, and with revelling." See *History of the Destruction of Troy*, b. li. chap. 14.

But rather strive by law to win her, 395  
 And try the title you have in her.  
 Your case is clear, you have her word,  
 And me to witness the accord;  
 Besides two more of her retinue  
 To testify what pass'd between you; 400  
 More probable, and like to hold,  
 Than hand or seal, or breaking gold;  
 For which so many, that renounc'd  
 Their plighted contracts, have been trounc'd;  
 And bills upon record been found, 405  
 That forc'd the ladies to compound;

ψ. 401, 402. *More probable; and like to hold,—Than hand or seal, or breaking gold.*] Breaking of gold was formerly much practis'd; and when done, 'twas commonly believ'd that such a man and woman were made sure to one another, and could marry no other persons: that they had broke a piece of gold between them, was looked upon to be a firm marriage-contract; and nothing was thought to bind the contract more firmly, before they were actually married, than this breaking a piece of gold. Dr B.

See an account of Valentine's dividing a gold ring with Clermond, when he took leave of her, before his pilgrimage. History of Valentine and Orson, chap. 41. p. 174.

ψ. 405, 406. *And bills upon record been found,—That forc'd the ladies to compound.*] See a remarkable bill of charges, upon a disappointment in courtship, Guardian, No. 97.

"On promise of marriage, damages may be recovered, "if either party refuse to marry: but the promise must be mutual on both sides, to ground the action, 1 Salk. 24.— "And though no time for marriage be agreed on, if the plaintiff aver, That he has offered to marry the woman, "and she refused; an action lyes against her, and damages "are recoverable.—If a man and woman make mutual "promises of inter-marriage, and the man gives the woman 100 l. in satisfaction of his promise of marriage, it "is a good discharge of the contract. Mod. Caf. 156. By "Stat. 29. Car. ii. c. 3. no action shall be brought on any "agreement or consideration of marriage, except it be put



And that, unless I miss the matter,  
 Is all the bus'ness you look after :  
 Besides, *encounters at the bar,*  
 Are braver now, than those in war, 410  
 In which the law does execution,  
 With less disorder and confusion ;  
 Has more of honour in't, some hold,  
 Not like the New Way, but the Old ;  
 When those the Pen had drawn together, 415  
 Decided quarrels with the Feather,  
 And winged arrows kill'd as dead,  
 And more than bullets now of lead ;  
 So all their combats now, as then,  
 Are manag'd chiefly by the pen, 420  
 That does the feat, with braver vigours,  
 In words at length, as well as figures ;  
 Is judge of all the world performs  
 In voluntary feats of arms ;  
 And whatfoe'er's atchiev'd in fight, 425  
 Determines which is wrong or right :  
 For whether you *prevail* or *lose*,  
 All must be try'd there in the close :  
 And therefore 'tis not wise to shun  
 What you must trust to, e'er y' have done. 430  
 The law, that settles all you do,  
 And marries where you did but woo ;  
 That makes the most perfidious lover,  
 A lady, that's as false, recover :  
 And if it judge upon your side, 435  
 Will soon extend her for your bride ;

" in writing, and signed by the party to be charged, &c.  
 " And where an agreement relating to marriage must be  
 " in writing, and when it need not, *Vid. Skinn. 353.*"  
 Jacob's Law Dictionary.

♀. 436. —*extend her.*] See *Extend*, Jacob's Law Dictionary.

And put her person, goods, or lands,  
Or which you like best, int' your hands.

For law's the wisdom of all ages,  
And manag'd by the ablest sages;  
Who, though their bus'ness at the bar  
Be but a kind of civil war,

440

In which th' engage with fiercer dudgeons,  
Than e'er the Grecians did, and Trojans;  
They never manage the contest  
T' impair their public interest;  
Or by their controversies lessen  
The dignity of their Profession;

445

Y. 441, 442. *Who, though their bus'ness at the bar—Be but a kind of civil war.*] This piece of grimace in the gentlemen of the long robe, is sneer'd by the writer of a Pindaric poem, inscribed *To the Society of Beaux Esprits*, page 7.

"Nor is your time mispent in parchment jar,  
"The hellish bustle of the bar,  
"Where the loud prattling tribe wage an eternal war:  
"A war, while there—High words are rais'd  
"Their pedigrees, and virtues blaz'd:  
"That is the issue of a first rate clown,  
"And wore his leathern breeches up to town;  
"This is a pimp to causes, such a cheat,  
"He'd pawn his soul for a five shillings-treat:  
"That has a conscience steel'd, and this a face of brass,  
"And he that looks so gravely is an ass.  
"Yet, when they next meet, they agree,  
"Who but dear Jack, and Billy, who but he?  
"Consult afresh to raise their client's strife,  
"And make it last as long as life:  
"And yet, they know the law was meant  
"What's wrongful to redress!  
"To free the poor, and innocent."

The Spectator observes, No. 13. "That nothing is more usual in Westminster-Hall, than to see a couple of lawyers, who have been tearing one another to pieces in court, embracing one another as soon as they are out of it." See Spectator, No. 21. Tatler, No. 42. Ben Johnson's Masque of Gypsies, &c. p. 76.

Not like us Brethren, who divide  
 Our Commonwealth, the Cause, and Side; 450  
 And though w' are all as near of kindred  
 As th' outward man is to the inward;  
 We agree in nothing, but to wrangle  
 About the slightest single-fangle:  
 While lawyers have more sober sense, 455  
 Than to argue at their own expence,  
 But make their best advantages  
 Of others quarrels, like the Swifts;  
 And out of foreign controversies,  
 By aiding both sides, fill their purses; 460  
 But have no int'rest in the cause  
 For which th' engage, and wage the laws;

Y. 453, 454. *We agree in nothing, but to wrangle—About the slightest single-fangle.*] The Squire in this speech pays a true and worthy compliment to the professors of the law: this obvious good understanding among themselves makes them easy; and the law ought to be held in veneration because it is not exposed to the censure and judgment of the vulgar, (as other professions mentioned by Ralpho are), by the indiscreet writings of its professors. (See ver. 483, &c.) No wonder it is, that the Squire by such fair undeniable arguments in their favour persuaded the Knight to apply to a lawyer for advice in his present case, which undoubtedly required relief and satisfaction. Mr B.

Y. 458. *Of other quarrels, like the Swifts.*] The Cantons of Switzerland will, upon reasonable terms, allow any Christian Princes to raise soldiers among them; by which means they are sure to be at peace with all the neighbouring states; and at the same time make a tolerable provision for great numbers of their people. But one Swiss regiment (as I am told) will not fight with another Swiss regiment on any consideration. As they are all mustered and exercised every Sunday, so the whole country, to a man, are ever ready to fight. (Mr B. of B.) They expect to have their pay regularly; "otherwise (says Mr Moll, Geography, p. 234. "edition 1701.) they are ready to make good the proverb, "No money, no Swiss." *Other quarrels*, edition 1678, 1684.

Nor further prospect than their pay,  
 Whether they lose or win the day.  
 And though th' abounded in all ages, 465  
 With sundry learned Clerks, and Sages;  
 Though all their business be dispute,  
 Which way they canvass ev'ry suit;  
 Th' have no disputes about their art,  
 Nor in *polemics controvert*: 470  
 While all professions else are found  
 With nothing but disputes t' abound:  
 Divines of all sorts, and physicians,  
 Philosophers, mathematicians;  
 The Galenist, and Paracelsian, 475  
 Condemn the way each other deals in:  
 Anatomists dissect and mangle,  
 To cut themselves out work to wrangle;  
 Astrologers dispute their Dreams,  
 That in their sleeps they talk of Schemes: 480

*Y. 475. The Galenist, and Paracelsian.] Galen was born in the year 130, and lived to the year 200. See a full account of him, Suida Lexicon. vol. i. p. 465. Labbei Elog. Chronologic. Fabricii Bibliothec. Græc. lib. iv. cap. 17. tom. iii. p. 510, 527. Chambers's Cyclopædia.*

Paracelsus was born the latter end of the fifteenth, and lived almost to the middle of the sixteenth century. (See Collier's Dictionary.) And though I have given a large account of him in a note, on Part II. Canto iii. ver. 627, I beg leave to add the following one, translated from the French, and communicated to me by Miss W—, and Miss E—r W. two young ladies, who are endued with all the perfections of their sex, and admired for their great attainments in polite learning, by all who have the honour of their acquaintance.

*Que V. A. S. me permette de luy decrire l'epitaphe, &c.*

"Your serene Highness will permit me to relate to you  
 "an epitaph I saw against the wall in the church at Saltf-  
 "bourg, of a man much esteemed in Germany, and particu-  
 "cularly in this part of it."

And heralds stickle, who got who,  
So many hundred years ago.

Conditur hic, Philippus Theophrastus,  
Insignis Medicinæ Doctor, qui dira illa  
Vulnera, lepram, podagram, hydropisim,  
Aliaque insanabilia corporis contagia  
Mirifica arte sustulit.

Ac bona sua in pauperes distribuenda  
Collocandaque honoravit.

Anno MDXLI die xxiiij Septemb.

Vitam cum morte mutavit.

"This suits but little with what I learnt concerning him  
"in France, where he passes only for a quack, desirous of  
"blinding the world by the extraordinary advantages he  
"promised them."

"This impostor promised to every body the secret of ma-  
"king gold; and nevertheless died himself a beggar, and  
"in the hospital of this very Saltsbourg; where the wealth  
"he left to the poor could be of no use but to add two lines  
"more to his epitaph.

"He boasted, too, that it was in his power to make the  
"Pope, Luther, and the Turk agree. He was a wicked man  
"then, for he did not do it: I know no quality he had to  
"facilitate his doing it, but that he had no zeal for any  
"party. In fine, (says he), I have the secret to make a  
"man live to one hundred and fifty, free from diseases;  
"and he himself died at thirty-seven, loaded with distem-  
"pers. Nothing of all this persuades me in favour either  
"of his probity or erudition."

*Relations Historique de Voyages en Allemagne, &c. par*  
*Cha. Patin, M. D. Lyon, 1676. Relation Quatrieme, a S.*  
*A. Sne. Anthoine Ulric Duc de Brunswic, p. 286.*

Dr Quincy (see Physical Dictionary, p. 164.) distinguishes  
between Galenical and chemical medicines; and observes,  
that the Galenical run much upon the multiplying of herbs  
and roots in the same composition, seldom torturing them  
any other way than by decoction; in opposition to chemi-  
cal medicines, which, by the force of fire, and a great deal  
of art, fetches out the virtues of bodies, chiefly mineral,  
into a small compass. For an account of chemical prepa-  
rations, the reader, if he pleases, may consult Paracelsus,  
Van Helmont, Lemery, Wilson, Dr Friend, and Boerhaave,  
who have wrote professedly on that subject.



But lawyers are too wise a nation,  
 T' expose their trade to disputation;  
 Or make the busy rabble judges 485  
 Of all their secret piques and grudges;  
 In which whoever wins the day,  
 The whole profession's sure to pay:  
 Beside, no mountebanks, nor cheats,  
 Dare undertake to do their feats; 490  
 When in all other sciences  
 They swarm, like Insects, and *increase*.

For what Bigot durst ever draw,  
 By *inward light*, a deed in law?  
 Or could hold forth, by revelation, 495  
 An *answer to a declaration*?  
 For those that meddle with their tools,  
 Will cut their fingers, if they're fools.  
 And if you follow their advice,  
 In bills, and answers, and replies; 500  
 They'll write a love-letter in Chancery,  
 Shall bring her upon oath to *answer ye*,  
 And soon reduce her to b' your wife,  
 Or make her weary of her life.

The Knight, who us'd with Tricks and Shifts 505  
 To edify, by Ralpho's Gifts,  
 But in appearance cry'd him down,  
 To make them better seem his own,  
 (All Plagiarys' constant course  
 Of *sinking*, when they *take a purse*) 510  
 Resolv'd to follow his advice,  
 But kept it from him by disguise :

ψ. 481. *And heralds stickle, who got who.*] See Spectator,  
 No. 446.

ψ. 507. — *cry'd him down.*] Edition 1678, 1684. *Cry'd*  
*them down*, 1700, and following editions.

And after stubborn contradiction,  
 To counterfeit his own conviction,  
 And by transition, fall upon  
 The resolution, as his own. 515

Quoth he, This gambol thou advisest,  
 Is, of all others, the unwiseſt ;  
 For if I think by law to gain her,  
 There's nothing ſillier nor vainer. 520  
 'Tis but to hazard my pretence,  
 Where nothing's certain, but th' expence ;  
 To act againſt myſelf, and traverse  
 My ſuit, and title to her favours :  
 And if ſhe ſhou'd, which Heav'n forbid, 525  
 O'erthrow me, as the fiddler did ;  
 What after-course have I to take,  
 'Gainſt loſing all I have at ſtake ?  
 He that with injury is griev'd,  
 And goes to law to be reliev'd, 530  
 Is ſillier than a ſottiſh chowſe,  
 Who, when a thief has robb'd his houſe,  
 Applies himſelf to cunning men,  
 To help him to his goods agen ;  
 When all he can expect to gain, 535  
 Is but to ſquander more in vain :  
 And yet I have no other way,  
 But is as difficult to play.  
 For to reduce her, by main force,  
 Is now in vain ; by fair means, worſe : 540  
 But worſt of all, to give her over,  
 'Till ſhe's as deſp'rate to recover.  
 For bad games are thrown up too ſoon,  
 Until th' are never to be won.

ſ. 523. 524. — *and traverse—My ſuit.*] See *Traverse*,  
 Bailey, and Jacob's Law Dictionary.

## Canto III. H U D I B R A S. 277

But since I have no other course, 545

But is as bad t' attempt, or worse :

515

He that complies against his will,

Is of his own opinion still ;

Which he may adhere to, yet disown,

For reasons to himself best known : 550

But 'tis not to b' avoided now,

520

For Sidrophel resolves to sue :

Whom I must answer, or begin

Inevitably first with him.

For I've receiv'd advertisement,

555

By times enough, of his intent ;

525

And knowing, he that first complains,

Th' advantage of the business gains :

For courts of justice understand

The plaintiff to be eldest hand ; 560

Who what he pleases may aver,

530

The other, nothing till he swear :

Is freely admitted to all grace,

And lawful favour, by his place ;

And for his bringing custom in, 565

Has all advantages to win.

I, who resolve to oversee

535

No lucky opportunity,

Will go to council, to advise

Which way t' encounter, or surprise, 570

And after long consideration,

540

Have found out one to fit th' occasion ;

Most apt for what I have to do,

As counsellor and justice too :

ψ. 565. *And for his bringing custom in.*] See Sir Roger L'Estrange's Fable of the Countryman and the Kid, part i. fable 350.

verse,

ψ. 573, 574. *Most apt for what I have to do,—As counsellor and justice too.*] Who this lawyer was I am really

And, truly, so, no doubt, he was,  
A lawyer fit for such a case.

573

An old dull Sot, who told the clock,  
For many years at Bridewell-dock,

at a loss to understand: the author of the printed notes has pointed out E. P. Esq; as the person intended by Mr Butler; but I cannot give in to his opinion, (though his character was not wholly unexceptionable, as appears from several passages in Mr Walker's Hist. of Independency.) His great business in his profession, and the posts that he filled must take up too much of his time to suffer him to engage in the proper business of a pettifogger. He had been commissioner of the great seal, worth 1500 l. a-year; and then, by an ordinance, practised within the bar, as one of the King's council, worth 500 l. *per ann.* He was afterwards postmaster for all inland letters, worth 100 l. every Tuesday night; and attorney-general to the commonwealth of England. (See Hist. of Independency, part i. p. 143, 166, &c. edit. 1661.) and died in 1659, as Mr Echard observes, (History of England, vol. ii. p. 872.) worth sixty thousand pounds in gold, in his coffers, as was credibly reported; besides lands of a great value. Mr Whitelock observes of him, (Memoirs, 2d edit. p. 682.) "That he was a generous person, "faithful to the Parliament interest, and a good chancery "lawyer." Bishop Tillotson, as I am informed by a worthy gentleman descended from him, lived with him as chaplain; and he was a man much esteemed in Devonshire, where he lived, (namely at Ford Abbey, which he bought of Sir Samuel Rosewell, reputed by some the Hero of this Poem), for his hospitable and charitable disposition. What room then for fixing this character upon him, rather than upon Glyn, or Maynard, who likewise complied with the times?

I have been told that one Siderfin, who lived in those times, and raised considerable fortunes in a low way of practice, has been reputed the lawyer sneered by our Poet.

*Ibid.*—*and as justice too.*] As such, whoever he was, he might have deserved the character of John Taylor's basket-justice. See his poem entitled, A Brood of Cormorants, Works, p. 7.

V. 577, 578. *An old dull Sot, who told the clock,—For many years at Bridewell-dock.*] Alluding probably to his

At Westminster, and Hicks's-hall,  
 And Hiccius Doctius play'd in all ; . 580  
 Where, in all *Governments and Times*,  
 H' had been both Friend and Foe to crimes,  
 And us'd two equal ways of gaining,  
 By *hind'ring Justice*, or maintaining :  
 To many a whore gave privilege, 585  
 And whipp'd, for want of *Quarteridge* ;  
*Cart-loads of Bawds* to prison sent,  
 For b'ing behind a fortnight's rent :

attendance at Bridewell, when petty criminals were whipped, who would not, or could not commute their whipping for a sum of money.

Dr Plot (see Hist. of Staffordshire, ch. viii. f. 66. p. 303. see likewise Spect. No. 447.) makes mention of an ideot who daily amused himself with always counting the hour of the day whenever the clock struck: and when it was spoiled by accident, the ideot continued to strike, and count the hour without the help of it.

ψ. 580. *And Hiccius Doctius play'd in all.*] An unintelligible term used by jugglers. See Preface to a tract entitled, Hocus Pocus, Vulgar, vol. iii. No. 21. *Bibliothec. Pepysian.* Such a lawyer as this would certainly have been banished out of Sir Thomas More's Utopian commonwealth. See translation of the Second Book of his Utopia, printed 1624, p. 104. *Hickius Dockius*, edition 1678, 1684.

ψ. 584. *By hind'ring Justice, or maintaining:*] Judge Bridlegoose's method (see Rabelais, book III. chap. xxxix. p. 261.) seems to have been more equitable, who decided causes and controversies by the chance and fortune of the dice; or the Russian custom of giving judgment by lot. (See Dr Giles Fletcher's Treatise of Russia. Purchas, his Pilgrims, part III. lib. iii. p. 434.); or the romantic way of trying causes in some part of the East Indies; the contending parties putting their bills into the hand of St Thomas the apostle. Sir John Mandeville's Voyage, &c. p. 208.

ψ. 585. *To many a whore gave privilege.*] Sir Roger L'Estrange observes, (Reflection upon the Fable of the Crows and Pidgeons, part i. fable 386.) "That set a kite on the bench, and it is forty to one that he'll bring off a crow at the bar."



And many a trusty Pimp and Croney  
 To Puddle-dock, for want of money: 590  
 Engag'd the Constable to seize  
 All those that would not break the peace,  
 Nor give him back his own foul words ;  
 Though sometimes Commoners, or Lords :  
 And kept 'em prisoners of course, 595  
 For being *sober at ill hours*;  
 That in the morning he might free,  
 Or bind 'em over for his fee.  
 Made *Monsters fine*, and Puppet Plays,  
 For leave to practise, in their ways ; 600

Y. 589. *And many a trusty Pimp and Croney, &c.*] \* There was a gaol for puny offenders.

Y. 595, 596. *And kept 'em prisoners of course,—For being sober at ill hours.*] Of this cast were the Constable and Watchman, (see Sir Richard Steele's comedy called, *The Lying Lovers*, edit. 1712, p. 57.) upon the rencounter that happened between Lovemore and young Bookwit.

Const. "Where, where was this clashing of swords? So—  
 "ho! so-ho! you, Sir, what, are you dead? Speak, friend,  
 "what are you afraid of? If you are dead, the law can  
 "take no hold of you.

Watch. "I beg your pardon, Mr Constable, he ought by  
 "the law to be carried to the Roundhouse for being dead  
 "at this time of night."

Const. "Then away with him you there—and you, gentle-  
 "men, follow me to find who kill'd him."

Y. 599. *Made Monsters fine, and Puppet-plays, &c.*] \* He extorted money from those that kept shows. See Don Quixote, vol. III. chap. xxvi. p. 259.

There is a remarkable account of Biroche, the famous puppet-player of Paris, who was taken up as a conjurer in one of the Cantons of Switzerland, (they taking his puppets for so many little devils); and he had certainly been condemned as such by the magistrates, had not Monsieur Dumont, a colonel of a regiment of Swiss, interposed—who convinced them at last, that there was no witchcraft in the case. However, they insisted upon Biroche's paying the charge of the prosecution; which he not complying with,

590

Farm'd out all cheats, and went a share  
 With th' Headborough, and Scavenger ;  
 And made the dirt i' th' streets compound  
 For taking up the public ground ;

595

The Kennel, and the King's Highway, 605  
 For being unmolested, pay :

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Let out the Stocks, and Whipping-post,  
 And Cage, to those that gave him most :

Impos'd a tax on Bakers' Ears,  
 And, for *false Weights*, on Chandelers; 610

Made Victuallers, and Vintners fine  
 For arbitrary Ale and Wine.

But was a kind and constant friend

To all that regularly offend :

As Residentiary Bawds, 615

And *Brokers*, that receive stol'n Goods ;

That cheat in Lawful Mysteries,

And pay Church Duties, and his Fees :

But was implacable, and aukward,

To all that *Interlop'd and Hawker'd*. 620

they fined him severely, by plundering his puppets, and carrying off their fine cloaths in triumph ; and putting him to the expence of new dressing them, before they could appear in Flanders. (See Count de Rochfort's Memoirs, 3d edition, p. 313, &c.) Mr Addison observes, (Travels, edit. 1705, p. 508.) That the notion of witchcraft prevails very much among the Swifs. And the Spectator, No. 372. that in Holland there is a tax upon puppet-plays for the industrious poor.

Y. 609. *Impos'd a tax on Bakers' Ears.*] That is, took a bribe to save them from the pillory.

The ancient way of punishing bakers for want of weight was by the tumbrel, or cucking-stool. This punishment was inflicted on them in the time of King Henry III. by Hugh Bigod, brother to the Earl Marshal. Hollinshed's Chronicle, vol. ii. 753. edit. 1577.

Y. 619. — *auker'd*.] Edition 1678, 1684.

Y. 620. — and hawker'd.] See Manley's Interpreter.

To this brave man the Knight repairs  
 For counsel, in his Law-affairs ;  
 And found him mounted *in his pew*,  
 With Books and Money plac'd, for shew,  
 Like Nest-eggs to make *Clients lay*, 625  
 And for his false opinion pay :  
 To whom the Knight, with comely grace,  
 Put off his hat, to put his case :  
 Which he as proudly entertain'd  
 As th' other courteously strain'd ; 630  
 And, to assure him 'twas not that  
 He look'd for, bid him put on's hat.

Quoth he, There is one Sidrophel,  
 Whom I have cudgel'd—*Very well*.  
 And now he brags t' have beaten me ; 635  
*Better and better still*, quoth he ;  
 And vows to stick me to a wall,  
 Where-e'er he meets me—*Best of all*.  
 'Tis true, the knave has taken's oath  
 That I robb'd him—*Well done, in troth*. 640  
 When h' has confess'd he stole my cloak,  
 And pick'd my fob, and what he took ;  
 Which was the cause that made me bang him,  
 And take my goods again—*Marry bang him*.

And Cowel, *Skinneri Etymologic. Junii Etymologic. Anglican.*

Ÿ. 624, 625. *With Books and Money plac'd, for shew,  
 Like Nest-eggs to make Clients lay.]*

“ Discord's apartment different was seen,

“ He had a lawyer been ;

“ One that, if fee were large, loudly could bawl ;

“ But had a cough o' th' lungs, if small :

“ And never car'd who lost, if he might win.—

“ His shelves were cramm'd with processs and writs,

“ Long rolls of parchment, bonds, citations, wills ;

“ Fines, errors, executions, and eternal chancery bills.”

The Progress of Honesty, p. 14.

Now whether I should before-hand  
Swear he robb'd me ?—*I understand.*

645

Or bring my *action of conversion*  
And Trover for my goods ?—*Ab Whorson!*

Or if 'tis better to indite,

And bring him to his trial ?—*Right.*

650

Prevent what he designs to do,

And swear for th' state against him ?—*True.*

ψ. 645, 646. *Now whether I should before-hand—Swear he robb'd me ?*] Thus one Harman, a very wealthy gentleman in Northamptonshire, was served by a tenant. Mr Harman hearing that his tenant, who was in great arrears, was going to a fair with money to buy cattle, met him designedly upon the road, told him he knew he had money, and desired him to discharge some part of his arrears, which he did with some difficulty. This coming to the knowledge of persons who were no friends to Harman, they advised his tenant to indict him for a robbery upon the highway, which he did, and Mr Harman was condemned; but pardoned at the instance of one of the same name, who was secretary to the then Lord Treasurer: for which piece of service, he left him his whole estate, which was a very large one. See Arthur Wilson's account of it. Bishop Kennet's Complete History of England, vol. ii. p. 787. edit. 1706.

Remarkable was the custom of the Egyptians with regard to theft and robbery. Upon the thief's discovering the theft, and delivering the money or goods to the Chief Priest, the person robbed was bound to return one fourth part of the money or goods stolen to the robber. *Vide Diodori Siculi Rer. Antiq. lib. ii. cap. 3. Jo. Fra. Pici Mirandula Exam. Doctrin. Vanitat. Gent. lib. III. tom. ii. p. 652.*

And 'tis observed of the Sicilians, that with them robbery was esteemed honourable, and the robber, if he was killed in pursuit of booty, was highly honoured after his death. *Sexti Philosophi Pyrrh. Hypotyp. lib. iii. ed. 1621, p. 154.* See Sir Tho. More's Proposal for the punishment of Theft, Utopia, book i. p. 20, 21.

ψ. 647, 648. *Or bring my action of conversion—And Trover for my goods ?*] An action of Trover, from *Trouvir* to find, is an action which a man has against one, who, having found any of his goods, refuses to deliver them upon demand. Bailey's Dictionary. Jacob's Law Dictionary.

Or whether he that is defendant,  
 In this case, has the better end on't;  
 Who putting in a new cross-bill, 655  
 May traverse th' action?—*Better still.*  
 Then there's a lady too,—*I marry,*  
 That's easily prov'd accessary;  
 A widow, who, by solemn vows  
 Contracted to me, for my spouse, 660  
 Combin'd with him to break her word,  
 And has abetted all.—*Good Lord!*  
 Suborn'd th' aforesaid Sidrophel,  
 To tamper with th' dev'l of hell;  
 Who put m' into a horrid fear, 665  
 Fear of my life.—*Make that appear.*  
 Made an assault with fiends and men  
 Upon my body—*Good agen:*  
 And kept me in a deadly fright,  
 And false imprisonment, all night: 670  
 Mean while they robb'd me, and my horse,  
 And stole my saddle.—*Worse and worse.*  
 And made me mount upon the bare ridge,  
 T' avoid a wretcheder miscarriage.  
 Sir, quoth the Lawyer, not to flatter ye, 675  
 You have as good and fair a battery

ψ. 675. *Sir, quoth the Lawyer, &c.*] The Knight's queries, and the Lawyer's answers, seem to have been artfully managed: the Knight has scarce told the Lawyer any thing but things false in fact: how plausible has he made his own case, and how black that of his adversaries! though he himself was the most notorious offender. This is a perfect example of a practice, than which nothing is more common in life, plaintiffs and defendants generally represent their own case with a fair outside, and conceal what they think will impeach the justness and validity of it. From hence arise so many law-suits, and from such partial representations very often are their disappointments occasioned.

It is observable, that the Knight put his case, and pro-



As heart can wish, and need not shame,  
The proudest man alive can claim.

For if th' have us'd you as you say ;

Marry, quoth I, God give you joy ; 680

I would it were my case, I'd give

More than I'll say, or you'll believe :

I would so trounce her, and her purse,

I'd make her kneel for bett'r or worse ;

For matrimony, and hanging here, 685

Both go by destiny so clear,

posed remedies, more like a council than a client ; he has a command of proper law terms, and seems not to be unexperienced in litigious affairs. The Lawyer now gives his advice, which proves to be agreeable to the Knight's wishes and sentiments ; they thereupon part good friends, and without any wrangling, which is a thing very rare with the Knight : the Lawyer concurs with the Knight's opinion, of the conveniencies of perjury and forgery, and conscientiously promises him his service in the maintenance of them. Mr B.

ψ. 676. *You have as good and fair a battery.]* This battery was of the same kind with that of Sir Andrew Aguecheek, (Shakespeare's Twelfth Night, act iv. vol. II. p. 519.), who, when he had struck Sebastian, (taking him for his sister Viola, who was disguised in man's cloaths), and Sebastian had returned his compliments, threatens in the following manner :

*Sir Andr.* "Nay, let him alone, I'll go another way to  
"work with him ; I'll have an action of battery against  
"him, if there be any law in Illyria ; though I struck him  
"first, yet its no matter for that."

And probably our lawyer would have defended it, much like him, who, in aggravation of the defendant's crime, in an action of battery, told the Judge, "That he beat his  
"client with a certain wooden instrument, called an iron  
"pestle."

ψ. 683. *I would so trounce her, and her purse.]* The first action brought in a matrimonial case at Rome, was by Carvilius, near 500 years after the building of that city. *Auli Gellii Noct. Attic. lib. iv. cap. 3.*

That you as sure may pick and choose,  
 As crows I win, and pile you lose:  
 And if I durst, I would advance  
 As much in ready maintenance, 690  
 As upon any case I've known.  
 But we that practise dare not own:  
 The law severely contrabands  
 Our taking bus'ness off men's hands;  
 'Tis common Barratry, that bears 695  
 Point-blank an action 'gainst our ears,  
 And crops them till there is not leather,  
 To stick a pin in, left of either;  
 For which, some do the Summer-fault,  
 And o'er the bar, like tumblers, vault. 700

ψ. 685, 686. For matrimony, and hanging here,—Both go by destiny so clear.] Torquemada (see Spanish Mandeville, 4th Disc. fol. 102.) mentions a person, who owned at the gallows, that it was his destiny to be hanged.

With regard to matrimony, the young fellow seems to have been of a different opinion, (see L'Estrange's Fables, part i. fab. 426.) who desired the prayers of the congregation, when he was upon the point of matrimony. See the moral. So Nerissa (see Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice, vol. ii. p. 39.) speaks in the same stile with our Poet.

“ The ancient saying is, No heresy,

“ Hanging and wiving goes by destiny.”

See what Grace says to Winwife, Ben Johnson's Bartholomew Fair, act iv. sc. 3.

ψ. 695. 'Tis common Barratry.] From Barret, a wrangling suit. See Statute of Champerty, 33 Ed. 1, 2. Skene de Verborum Significatione. Cowel's Interpreter. Manley. Wood's Institutes, &c. p. 417. See Barrater, Junii Etymol. Anglican.

ψ. 697. —till there is not leather.] Edit. 1678, 1684. No leather, 1700, &c.

ψ. 699, 700. For which, some do the Summer-fault,—And o'er the bar, like tumblers, vault.] Summer-fault, (Soubresalte, Fr.) a feat of activity showed by a tumbler. Alluding to the custom of throwing unfair practitioners

But you may swear at any rate,  
Things not in nature, *for the state*:

For in all courts of justice here

A witness is not said to *swear*,

But make Oath, that is, in plain terms,

705

To forge whatever he affirms.

(I thank you, quoth the Knight, for that,  
Because 'tis to my purpose pat——)

For Justice, though she's painted blind,

Is to the weaker side inclin'd,

710

Like Charity; else *right and wrong*

Could never hold it out so long,

And, like blind Fortune, with a slight,

Convey men's interest and right,

From Stiles's Pocket, into Nokes's,

715

As easily as Hocus Pocus:

Plays fast and loose, makes *men obnoxious*,

And clear again, like Hiccius Doctius.

over the bar. See Chambers's *Cyclopædia*, Bailey's Dict. Barclay's *Argenis*, lib. III. cap. xxii. p. 392.

ψ. 716. *As easily as Hocus Pocus.*] "In all probability (says Archbishop Tillotson, Discourse against Transubstantiation) those common juggling words of *Hocus Pocus*, are nothing but a corruption of *Hoc est Corpus*, by way of ridiculous imitation of the priests of the Church of Rome, in their trick of transubstantiation. Into such contempt, by this foolish doctrine, and pretended miracle of theirs, have they brought the most sacred and venerable mystery of our religion."

See *Hocus Pocus Junior*, Bibl. Pepysian. The Anatomy of Legerdemain: or, The Art of Juggling.

ψ. 717, 718. *Plays fast and loose, makes men obnoxious, —And clear again.*] The crafty part of the profession are bantered by [the Clown, in Shakespeare. See Measure for Measure, act iii. vol. I. p. 357.

Mr Butler may probably gird some of those reforming gentlemen, who, during the rebellion, divested persons unexceptionable of their property, with a bad character, and restored them to it with a good one at the restoration. See

Then whether you wou'd take her life,  
 Or but recover her for *your wife*; 720  
 Or be content with what she has,  
 And let all other matters pass,  
 The bus'ness to the law's alone,  
 The proof is all it looks upon :  
 And you can want no witnesses, 725  
 To swear to any thing you please,  
 That hardly get their mere Expences  
 By *th' labour of their consciences*;  
 Or letting out to hire their Ears,  
 To Affidavit-customers : 730

a remarkable instance, *Impartial Examination of Mr Neal's* 3d volume of the *History of the Puritans*, p. 145, 146.

ψ:723. — *alone.*] In all editions to 1704, inclusive. *All one*, in later editions.

ψ. 725, 726. *And you can want no witnesses, — To swear to any thing you please.*] Knights of the Post were common in all ages.

*Non bene conducti vendunt perjuria testes :*

*Non bene selecti judicis arca patet.*

*Ovid. Amor. lib. I. eleg. x. 37. 38.*

John Taylor, the Water Poet, (see tract against Curling and Swearing, p. 50.), observes of them, " That it is to be  
 " feared, that there are some that do make a living or  
 " trade of swearing: as a fellow being asked once, of what  
 " occupation he was? made answer, that he was a witness,  
 " (witness); which was one that for hire would swear in  
 " any man's cause, be it right or wrong." (See *Gusman de Alfarach*: or, *Spanish Rogue*, fol. 1630. part ii. p. 164.)  
 And Mr Walker observes, (*History of Independency*, part iii. p. 27.), " That the Council of State had hundreds of Spies  
 (and Intelligencers, Affidavit-men, and Knights of the Post."

'Tis a pity that the false witnesses in those times, and all others, by whose evidence people's lives were taken away, did not meet with the fate of Sophy, a woman, who giving false evidence against William Bardefius, Praetor of Amsterdam, at the instance of his great enemy Mr Henry Theodorus, Consul of that place, in order to take away his life: " had, May 3, 1561, her tongue cut out, was then hanged,

At inconsiderable values,  
To serve for Jurymen or *Tales*,  
Although retain'd in th' hardest matters,  
Of Trustees, and Administrators.

For that, quoth he, let me alone ; 735  
W' have store of such, and all our own;  
Bred up and tutor'd by our teachers,  
*The ablest of conscience-stretchers.*

That's well, quoth he, but I should guess,  
By weighing all advantages, 740  
Your surest way is first to pitch  
On Bongey, for a Water-witch ;

"had her body burnt, and publicly exposed." Baker's History of the Inquisition, p. 247.

ψ. 732. *To serve for Jurymen or Tales.*] *Tales* is a Latin word of known signification: it is used in our Common Law, for a supply of men empanelled upon a jury or inquest, and not appearing, or challenged. For in these cases the Judge, upon a petition, granteth a supply to be made by the sheriff of some men there present equal in reputation to those that were empanelled; and hereupon the very act of supplying is called *A Tales de Circumstantibus*. When a whole jury is challenged, they are called *Meliores*. Cowle's Interpreter. Wood's Institute of the Common Law, p. 591. Jacob's Law Dictionary.

ψ. 737. *Bred up and tutor'd by our teachers.*] Dr Downing and Stephen Marshal, who absolved the prisoners released at Brentford from their oaths, as has been before observed.

ψ. 742. *On Bongey, for a Water-witch.*] \* Bongey was a Franciscan, and lived towards the end of the thirteenth century, a Doctor of Divinity in Oxford, and a particular acquaintance of Frier Bacon's: in that ignorant age, every thing that seemed extraordinary was reputed magic, and so both Bacon and Bongey went under the imputation of studying the Black Art. Bongey also publishing a treatise of Natural Magic, confirmed some well-meaning credulous people in this opinion; but it was altogether groundless, for Bongey was chosen provincial of his order, being a per-



And when y' have hang'd the conjurer,  
 Y' have time enough to deal with her.  
 In th' int'rim, spare for *no trepans*  
 To draw her neck into the Banns :  
 Ply her with Love-letters and Billets,  
 And bait 'em well, for *Quirks* and *Quillets*,

745

son of most excellent parts and piety. See Collier's Dictionary, from Pitts. *De Illustribus Angliæ Scriptoribus*.

There was likewise "one Mother Bongey, who, in diverse "books set out with authority, is registred or chronicled "by the name of *the great Witch of Rochester*." See an abstract of Scot's History of Witchcraft. British Librarian, No. iv. for April 1737. p. 226.

Y. 747, 748. *Ply her with Love-letters and Billets,— And bait 'em well, for Quirks and Quillets.*] The word *Quillet* is often used by Shakespeare. In his Love's Labour Lost, act iii. vol. II. p. 142. upon the King of Navarre's talking with his company of love, and Dumont's saying,

"Ay, marry, there—some flattery for this evil"—

Longville answers,

"Oh! some authority how to proceed,

"Some tricks—some quillets how to cheat the devil."

The Earl of Warwick likewise uses the word, Shakespeare's First Part of Henry VI. act ii. vol. IV. p. 138.

"But in these nice sharp quillets of the law,

"Good faith, I am no wiser than a daw."

See Second Part of King Henry VI. act iii. p. 245.

Tim. ——"Consumptions, saw

"In hollow bones of man, strike their sharp shins,

"And marr mens sparring. Crack the Lawyer's voice,

"That he may never more false title plead,

"Nor sound his quillets shrilly."—

Timon of Athens, vol. v. p. 274.

And in his Hamlet, act v. vol. VII. p. 347. Hamlet seeing the grave-digger digging up skulls, says,

Ham. "Why may not that be the skull of a lawyer?

"Where be his quiddities now? his quillets? his cases?

"His tenures, and his tricks?"—

See Warner's Albion's England, book XIV. ch. xcii. p. 369.

With trains t' inviegle, and surprize  
 Her heedless Answers and Replies :  
 And if she miss the Mouse-trap Lines,  
 They'll serve for other by-designs ;  
 And make an artist understand  
 To copy out her seal and hand ;

Mr Peck (in his Explanatory and Critical Notes on Shakespeare's Plays ; see New Memoirs of the Life of Milton, p. 230. upon the passage above from Love's Labour Lost) observes, " That quillet, as Minshieu says, is a *small parcel*.

" —Here we come to the point. If we look into the map of Derbyshire, we find a place called *Over-Seile*, which parish, though surrounded by Derbyshire, is yet a quillet, or small parcel of Leicestershire. The like may be observed of diverse other places in other counties. These quillets, in all sheriffs aids, scutages, and the like, it should seem, were taxed, or pretended to be taxed, sometimes with the one county, sometimes with the other, and sometimes with neither. Thus when the sheriff of Leicester demanded those aids of the parish of *Over-Seile*, it is probable they answered, They belonged to Derbyshire, not to Leicestershire : again, when the sheriff of Derby demanded those aids, that they belonged to Leicestershire, and not Derbyshire. And so, by this pretty artifice, sometimes got excused from both, or at least attempted so to do.—The word is often used in our Author, and is always used to signify a *quirk of the law*, or quibble."

Dr Donne (see letter to his sister upon the death of her son. Collection of Letters made by Sir Toby Mathew, p. 345.) uses the word in this sense. " The family would not think itself the less, if any little quillet of ground had been conveyed from it : nor must it, because a clod of earth, one person of the family, is removed."

Y 754. *To copy out her seal*,] Mr Selden observes, (Notes upon the fourth Song of Drayton's Polyolbion, p. 69.) " That there were no seals before the Conquest in England : no king of this land, except the Confessor, before the conquest, ever using in their charters more than subscription of name and crosses."

" The punishment inflicted for counterfeiting another man's seal, was no less than abjuring the kingdom, or

Or find void places in the paper

755

To steal in something to *intrap* her;

"going into perpetual exile, as appears by writ of King John to the sheriff of Oxford, (Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickshire, p. 922. col. 1.), wherein the King commands the sheriff to cause one Ankeril Manvers, who had been taken up for falsifying the seal of Robert de Oldbridge, to abjure the realm; and to send him without delay to the sea by some of his officers, who should see him go out of the land." *Dissertation on the Antiquity and Use of Seals in England.* By Mr Lewis of Mergate, 1740. p. 29.

*Ibid.* —[*or hand.*] There have been artists in this way in all ages. A remarkable instance of this kind was Young, the forger of the Flower-pot plot, in the reign of William III. who was, I think, afterwards hanged for coining in Newgate. See an account of him in the Case of Blackhead and Young.

Her Grace the Duchess dowager of Marlborough (see an Account of her Conduct, 1742.) observes, upon the imprisonment of the Lord Marlborough for this plot, "That to commit a peer, there should be an affidavit from some body of the treason. Lord Romney, Secretary of State, sent for one Young, who was then in jail for perjury and forgery, and paid the fine to make him what they call a legal evidence; for the court lawyers said, Young not having lost his ears was an irreproachable evidence." Which verifies Sir Roger L'Estrange's Observation, (*Reflection on fable 386. part 1.*), "That for a knight of the post (alluding to the practice of those times) 'tis but dubbing him with the title of King's evidence, and the work is done."

Nay, sometimes, when there has been no similitude of hands, from that very circumstance, men of dexterity have pretended to prove it the person's hand.

This was exemplified in the case of an Irish physician, in the time of the Popish Plot, "who was charged with writing a treasonable libel, but denied the thing, and appealed to the unlikeness of the characters. It was agreed, they said, That there was no resemblance at all in the hands: but the Doctor had two hands, his physic hand, and his plot hand; and the one not one jot like the other: now this was the Doctor's plot-hand, and they in-

Till with her *worldly goods* and Body,  
 Spight of her heart, she has indow'd ye :  
 Retain all sorts of Witneſſes,  
 That ply i' th' Temples, *under trees*;  
 Or walk the round, with *knights o' th' poſts*,  
 About the *croſs-legg'd knights*, their hoſts;

760

“ ſiſted upon it, that becauſe it was not like his hand, it  
 “ was his hand.” L'Eſtrange's moral to the Fable of a Chri-  
 ſtian and a Jew, part ii. fab. 202.

ſ. 760. *That ply i' th' Temples, under trees.*] Mr Old-  
 ham alludes to this practice, 13th Sat. of Juvenal imitated,  
 p. 298.

“ If Temple Walks, or Smithfield never fail  
 “ Of plying rogues that ſet their ſouls to ſale  
 “ To the beſt paſſenger that bids a price,  
 “ And make their livelihood of perjuries:  
 “ For God's ſake, why are you ſo delicate,  
 “ And think it hard to ſhare the common fate?”

ſ. 762. About the *croſs-legg'd knights*, their hoſts.] He  
 calls the monuments of the old knights lying *croſs-legged*,  
*hoſts to the knights of the poſt*; alluding to the proverb of  
*dining with Duke Humphrey*—the knights of the poſt  
 walking in Weſtmiſter-Abbey about dinner-time. Mr W.

See the proverb of *dining with Duke Humphrey*, explain-  
 ed among the London Proverbs, Fuller's Worthies, p. 198.  
 And a poem entitled, The Legend of the thrice honourable,  
 ancient, and renown'd Prince, his Grace Humphrey Duke  
 of St Paul's Cathedral-walk, Surveyor of the Monuments,  
 and Tombs of Weſtmiſter, and the Temple, Patron to the  
 Perambulators of the Piazzas in Covent-Garden, Maſter of  
 King's-Bench Hall, and one of the College's Privy-council,  
 (*penes me.*) The author of *Chronic. Chronicor. Eccleſiaſt.*  
*lib. ii.* p. 72. gives the following account of the *croſs-legged*  
 knights :

“ Sumptuoſiſſima titulo S. Sepulchri per orbem Chriſtia-  
 “ num erecta Coenobia: in quibus hodieque videre licet,  
 “ militum illorum imagines, monumenta tibiis in crucem  
 “ tranſverſis: ſic enim ſepulti fuerunt, quotquot illo ſaeculo  
 “ nomina bello ſacro didiſſent, vel qui tunc temporis cru-  
 “ cem ſuſcepiſſent.”

Or wait for customers, between  
 The pillar-rows in Lincoln's-Inn :  
 Where Vouchers, Forgers, Common-bail, 765  
 And Affidavit-men, ne'er fail  
 T' expose to sale all *sorts of oaths*,  
 According to *their ears and cloaths*,  
 Their only *necessary tools*,  
 Besides the Gospel, and their Souls. 770  
 And when y' are furnish'd with all Purveys,  
 I shall be ready at *your service*.

I would not give, quoth Hudibras,  
 A straw to understand a Case,  
 Without the admirable skill 775  
 To *wind*, and *manage it at will*;  
 To *vere*, and *tack*, and *steer a cause*,  
 Against the Weather-gage of Laws;  
 And ring the changes upon Cases,  
 As plain as noses upon faces, 780  
 As you have well instructed me,  
 For which you've earn'd (here 'tis) your fee ;

ψ. 767, 768. *T' expose to sale all sorts of Oaths,—According to their ears and cloaths.*] Lord Clarendon gives a remarkable instance of this kind: (History of the Rebellion, vol. ii. 355.) “ An Irishman of a very mean and low condition, who afterwards acknowledged, that being brought “ to Mr Pym, as an evidence of one part of the charge “ against the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, (*viz.* the Earl of “ Strafford), in a particular in which a person of so vile a “ quality would not be reasonably thought a competent in- “ former, Mr Pym gave him money to buy a satin suit and “ cloke; in which equipage he appeared at the trial, and “ gave his evidence.”—The like was practised in the trial of Lord Strafford, for the Popish plot, (Mr Carte's History of the Life of James the first Duke of Ormond, vol. ii. p. 517.) by Mr Hetherington, agent to Lord Shaftsbury. See likewise Impartial Examination of Mr Neal's 4th Vol. of the History of the Puritans, p. 379.



I long to practise your advice,  
And try the subtle artifice ;  
To bait a letter, as you bid ;  
As not long after, thus he did :  
For having pump'd up all his wit,  
And hum'd upon it, thus he writ.

785

*ψ. 782. For which you've earn'd (here 'tis) your fee.]*  
The beggar's prayer for the lawyer would have suited this gentleman very well. (See the Works of J. Taylor, the *Water-poet*, p. 101.) " May the terms be everlasting to thee, thou man of tongue ; and may contentions grow and multiply, may actions beget actions, and cases engender cases as thick as hops, may every day of the year be a Shrove Tuesday ; let proclamations forbid fighting, to increase actions of battery, that thy cassock may be three-pil'd, and the welts of thy gown may not grow thread-bare !"

*End of Canto THIRD, Part THIRD.*

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## HEROICAL EPISTLE

O F

H U D I B R A S

T O H I S

L A D Y.

**I** Who was once as great as Cæsar,  
 Am now reduc'd to Nebuchadnezzar ;  
 And from as fam'd a conqueror  
 As ever took degree in war,  
 Or did his *exercise in battle*, 5  
 By you turn'd out to *grafs with cattle* :  
 For since I am deny'd access  
 To all my earthly happiness,  
 Am fallen from the Paradise  
 Of your good Graces and fair Eyes ; 10  
 Lost to the world, and you, I'm sent  
 To everlasting banishment ;  
 Where all the Hopes I had t' *have won*  
 Your heart, b'ing dash'd, will break my own.

This *Epistle* was to be the result of all the fair methods the Knight was to use in gaining the widow ; it therefore required all his wit and dexterity to draw from this artful Lady an unwary answer. If the plot succeeded, he was to compel her immediately, by law, to a compliance with his desires. But the Lady was too cunning to give him such a handle as he longed for : on the contrary, her answer silenced all his pretensions. Mr B.

Ps. 2. *Am now reduc'd to Nebuchadnezzar.*] See Daniel iv. 32, 33. Webster's Display of supposed Witchcraft, p. 91, to 92 inclusive.

Yet if you were not so severe, 15  
 To pass your doom before you hear,  
 You'd find, upon my just defence,  
 How much y' have wrong'd my innocence.  
 That once I made a Vow to you,  
 Which yet is unperform'd, 'tis true; 20  
 But not because it is unpaid,  
 'Tis violated, though delay'd:  
 Or, if it were, it is no fault  
 So heinous as you'd have it thought;  
 To undergo the loss of ears, 25  
 Like vulgar Hackney Perjurers;  
 For there's a difference in the case,  
 Between the noble and the base;  
 Who always are observ'd t' have done't  
 Upon as different an account, 30  
 The one for *great and weighty cause*,  
 To save in Honour *ugly flaws*;  
 For none are like to do it sooner  
 Than those who are nicest of their honour:  
 The other, for *base gain* and Pay, 35  
 Forswear, and *perjure by the day*;  
 And make th' exposing and retailing  
 Their souls and consciences, a Calling.  
 It is no Scandal nor Aspersion,  
 Upon a great and noble person, 40  
 To say, he nat'rally abhor'd  
 Th' old-fashion'd trick, *To keep his word*,  
 Though 'tis perfidiousness and shame,  
 In meaner men to do the same:  
 For to be able to Forget, 45  
 Is found more useful to the Great,  
 Than Gout, or Deafness, or *bad Eyes*,  
 To make 'em pass for wondrous wise.

But though the Law on perjurers  
 Inflicts the *Forfeiture of Ears*, 50  
 It is not just that does exempt  
 The Guilty, and *punish th' Innocent*,  
 To make the Ears repair the wrong  
 Committed by th' *ungovern'd Tongue*,  
 And when one member is forsworn, 55  
 Another to be cropt, or torn.  
 And if you should, as you design,  
 By course of law recover mine,  
 You're like, if you consider right,  
 To gain but little honour by't. 60  
 For he that for his lady's sake  
 Lays down his life or limbs at stake,  
 Does not so much deserve her favour,  
 As he that *pawns* his soul to have her.  
 This y' have acknowledg'd I have done, 65  
 Although you now disdain to own :  
 But sentence, what you rather ought  
 T' esteem Good Service, than a Fault.  
 Besides, Oaths are not bound to bear  
 That Literal Sense the words infer; 70  
 But, by the practice of the age,  
 Are to be judg'd how far th' engage ;  
 And where the sense by custom's checkt,  
 Are found Void, and of none Effect.

ψ. 53. 54. *To make the Ears repair the wrong—Committed by th' ungovern'd Tongue.*] Sir Hudibras seems to think it as unreasonable to punish one member for the fault of another, as the Dutchman did the application made to one part for the cure of another: "A purse-proud Dutchman" (says Sir Roger L'Estrange, *Fables*, part ii. fab. 313.) was "troubled with a megrim; the doctors prescribed him a clyster, the patient fell into a rage upon't: Why, certainly these people are all mad, (says he), who talk of curing a man's head at his tail."



300 AN HEROICAL EPISTLE OF

For no man takes or keeps a Vow, 75  
 But just as he sees others do;  
 Nor are th' oblig'd to be so brittle,  
 As not to yield, and bow a little :  
 For as best-temper'd blades are found,  
 Before they break, to bend quite round; 80  
 So truest Oaths are still most tough,  
 And though they bow, are breaking proof.  
 Then wherefore should they not b' allow'd  
 In love a greater latitude ?  
 For as the law of arms approves 85  
 All ways to conquest, so should Love's;  
 And not be ty'd to true or false,  
 But make that justest that prevails :  
 For how can that which is above  
 All *Empire, high and mighty Love,* 90  
 Submit its great prerogative  
 To any other power alive ?  
 Shall love, that to no crown gives place,  
 Become the subject of a case ?  
 The *fundamental law of Nature,* 95  
 Be over-rul'd by those made after ?  
 Commit the censure of its Cause  
 To any but its own great laws ?  
 Love, that's the world's preservative,  
 That keeps all souls of things alive; 100  
 Controuls the mighty *pow'r of Fate,*  
 And gives mankind a longer date;  
 The life of nature, that restores,  
 As fast as Time and Death devours;  
 To whose free gift the world does owe, 105  
 Not only earth, but Heaven too :  
 For love's the only trade that 's driven,  
 The *interest of state in heav'n,*

Which nothing but the soul of man  
Is capable to entertain. 110  
For what can earth produce, but Love,  
To represent the Joys above?  
Or who, but Lovers, can converse,  
*Like Angels, by the eye-discourse?*

Y. 113, 114. *Or who, but Lovers, can converse,—Like Angels, by the eye-discourse.*] \*Metaphysicians are of opinion that angels, and souls departed, being divested of all gross matter, understand each other's sentiments by intuition, and consequently maintain a sort of conversation without the organs of speech.

The correspondence by two persons at a great distance, mentioned by Strada, and quoted by the Guardian, (No. 119.) was much more extraordinary than this eye-discourse of lovers: he, in the person of Lucretius, "gives an account of the chimerical correspondence between two friends, by the help of a loadstone; which had such a virtue in it, that it touched two several needles. When one of these needles so touched began to move, the other, though at never so great a distance, began to move at the same time, and in the same manner. He tells us, that the two friends, being each of them possessed of one of these needles, made a kind of dial-plate, inscribing it with four-and-twenty letters, in the same manner that the hours of the day are marked upon the ordinary dial-plate; then they fixed the needles on each of these plates, in such a manner that it could move round without impediment, so as to touch any of the four-and-twenty letters. Upon separating from one another into distant countries, they agreed to withdraw themselves punctually into their closets at a certain hour of the day, and to converse with one another by means of this their invention. Accordingly, when they were some hundred miles asunder, each of them shut himself up in his closet at the time appointed, and immediately cast his eye upon his dial-plate: if he had a mind to write any thing to his friend, he directed his needle to every letter that formed the words which he had occasion for, making a little pause at the end of every word, or sentence, to avoid confusion: the friend at the same time saw his own sym-

101 AN HEROICAL EPISTLE OF

*Address, and compliment by vision,* 113  
*Make love, and court by intuition?*  
 And burn in amorous flames as fierce  
 As those celestial ministers?  
 Then how can any thing offend,  
 In order to so great an end? 120  
 Or Heav'n itself a sin resent,  
 That for its own supply was meant?  
 That merits, in a kind mistake,  
 A pardon for th' offence's sake.  
 Or if it did not, but the Cause 125  
 Were left to th' injury of Laws,  
 What tyranny can disapprove  
 There should be Equity in love?  
 For laws, that are inanimate,  
 And feel no sense of love, or hate, 130  
 That have no passion of their own,  
 Nor pity to be wrought upon,  
 Are only proper to inflict  
 Revenge on criminals as strict:  
 But to have power to forgive, 135  
*Is empire and prerogative;*  
 And 'tis in Crowns a nobler gem,  
 To grant a pardon, than condemn.

"pathetic needle moving itself to every letter which that  
 "of his correspondent pointed at. By this means they  
 "talked together across a whole continent, and conveyed  
 "their thoughts to one another in an instant, over cities,  
 "mountains, seas, or deserts."

Y. 121. *Or Heav'n itself a sin resent, &c.* \* In regard  
 children are capable of being inhabitants of heaven, there-  
 fore it should not resent it as a crime to supply store of in-  
 habitants for it.

Y. 137, 138. *And 'tis in Crowns a nobler gem,—To grant  
 a pardon than condemn.*] This was part of Julius Caesar's  
 character, as given us by Sallust, in his comparison of M.  
 Cato and C. Caesar, (*Bell. Catilinar. Sallusti Op. edit.*

Then since so few do what they ought,  
 'Tis great t' indulge a well-meant fault ; 140  
 For why should he who made address  
 All humble ways without success,  
 And met with nothing in return,  
 But insolence, affronts, and scorn,  
 Not strive by wit to counter-mine, 145  
 And bravely carry his design ?  
 He who was us'd so unlike a soldier,  
 Blown up with Philters of Love-powder ?  
 And after *letting blood, and purging*,  
 Condemn'd to *voluntary scourging* : 150  
 Alarm'd with many a horrid fright,  
 And claw'd by Goblins in the night ;

*varior.* 1690. p. 139.) "Caesar beneficiis ac munificentia  
 "magnus habebatur, integritate vitae Cato ; ille mansue-  
 "tudine et misericordia clarus, factus ; huic severitas dig-  
 "nitatem addiderat : Caesar dando, sublevanda, ignoscen-  
 "do ; Cato nihil largiendo gloriam adeptus est." (See  
 Spectator's remark upon these two characters, vol. ii. No.  
 169.) *Vide Heliodori Ethiopic. lib. IX. cap. xxv. p. 453.*  
*editio Lugduni, 1611. Barclay's Argenis, lib. V. cap. 12*  
*p. 572.*

Isabella (see Shakespeare's Measure for Measure, Works,  
 vol. i. p. 366.) in pleading to Angelo, for her brother's life,  
 seems to have been of this opinion :

"No ceremonies (says she) that to great ones 'longs,  
 "Not the King's crown, nor the deputed sword,  
 "The marshal's truncheon, nor the judge's robe,  
 "Become them with half so good a grace as mercy doth."

See a remarkable instance in the case of Bonneval, saved by  
 Cardinal Richlieu. *La Belle Assemblée*, published 1738.  
 vol. ii. p. 65.

y. 148. *Blown up with Philters of Love-powder.*] See  
 Eleanor Cobham's Heroical Epistle to Duke Humphrey. Dray-  
 ton's Heroical Epistles, f. 50. Shakespeare's King Henry VI.  
 2d part, act ii. vol. IV. p. 211, 218. act ii. 228, 231. *Wieri*  
*de Prastigiis Damonum, lib. iii. cap. xxxix. Turkish Spy,*  
 vol. VII. book iv. letter 5.

304 AN HEROICAL EPISTLE OF

Insulted on, revil'd and jeer'd,  
 With rude invasion of his beard;  
 And when your sex was foully scandal'd, 155  
 As foully by the rabble handled:  
 Attack'd by despicable foes,  
 And drubb'd with mean and vulgar blows;  
 And, after all, to be debarr'd  
 So much as standing on his guard: 160  
 When horses being *spurr'd* and *prick'd*,  
 Have leave to *kick*, for being *kick'd*?

Or why should you, whose Mother-wits  
 Are furnish'd with all perquisites;  
 That with your Breeding-teeth begin, 165  
 And Nursing Babies that ly in;  
 B' allow'd to put all tricks upon  
 Our Cully Sex, and we use none?  
 We, who have nothing but frail vows,  
 Against your stratagems t' oppose, 170  
 Or oaths more feeble than your own,  
 By which we are no less put down?  
 You wound, like Parthians, while you fly,  
 And kill with a Retreating Eye:

V. 173. *You wound, like Parthians, while you fly, &c.*  
 \* Parthians are the inhabitants of a province in Persia:  
 they were excellent horsemen, and very exquisite at their  
 bows; and it is reported of them, that they generally slew  
 more upon their retreat, than they did in the engagement.

*Fidentemque fuga Parthum, versisque sagittis—*

*Virgilii Georgic. lib. iii. 31.*

*—Et missa Parthi post terga sagitta.*

*Lucan. Pharsal. lib. i. 230.*

*Horat. Carm. ii. 12, 13, 14, 17, 18. Justinii Histor. lib. 41.*

*Gruteri Fax. Art. tom. iii. par. 1. cap. xlvi. p. 515.*

*Lewis's History of the Parthian Empire, p. 4, 5.*

The Russians and Tartars shoot forwards and backwards.  
 See Dr Giles Fletcher's Account of Russia. Purchas his Pil-  
 grims, part III. lib. iii. p. 437. And the author of a book  
 entitled, A Discourse of the Original of the Cossacks and



Retire the more, the more we press, 175  
 To draw us into ambushes.  
 As Pyrates all false colours wear,  
 T' intrap th' unwary mariner :  
 So women, to surprise us, spread  
 The borrow'd flags of white and red, 180  
 Display 'em thicker on their cheeks,  
 Than their old grandmothers, the Picts;  
 And raise more devils with their looks,  
 Than Conjurers' less subtle books.  
 Lay trains of amorous intrigues, 185  
 In tow'rs, and curls, and perriwigs,  
 With greater art, and cunning rear'd,  
 Than Philip Nye's Thanksgiving Beard ;

Precopian Tartars, 1672, observes, (p. 52.) " That the Tar-  
 " tars shoot their arrows behind them with such exactness  
 " as to hit those that pursue them at two hundred paces di-  
 " stant."

Mr Prior (as Mr Warburton observes) borrowed this  
 thought to adorn his Ode on a Lady that refused to conti-  
 nue a Dispute.

" So when the Parthian turns his steed, &c."

Y. 188. *Than. Philip Nye's Thanksgiving Beard.*] \* One  
 of the Assembly of Divines, very remarkable for the singu-  
 larity of his beard.

Nye was a leading Independent preacher: " He was put  
 " into Dr Featley's living at Acton, and rode thither every  
 " Lord's day in triumph, in a coach drawn with four horses,  
 " to exercise there." See Levite's Scourge, 1644, p. 61.

There was a curious pulpit and paper war carried on  
 (says Mr Byron) between this saint and William Lilly the  
 conjurer, about the lawfulness of his art, though Lilly was  
 employed for the service of the Parliament: which dispute  
 (like many others) was interlarded with some pretty epithets,  
 personal altercations, &c. " For Nye bleated forth his  
 " judgment publicly against Lilly and astrology; and, in  
 " return, Lilly called Nye a Jesuitical Presbyterian; (he  
 " was an Independent), and says, That to be quit with him,  
 " he urged Abbot Causinus the Jesuit's approbation of astro-  
 " logy; and concluded, *Sic canibus Catulos, &c.*" Lilly's  
 Life, p. 83.

306 AN HEROICAL EPISTLE OF

Prepost'rously t' intice, and gain  
Those to adore 'em they disdain; 190  
And only draw 'em in, to clog,  
With idle names, a catalogue.

A lover is, the more he's brave,  
T' his mistress but the more a slave;  
And whatsoever she commands, 195  
Becomes a favour from her hands;  
Which he's oblig'd t' obey, and must,  
Whether it be unjust, or just.

Then when he is compell'd by her  
T' adventures, he would else forbear, 200  
Who, with his honour, can withstand,  
Since force is greater than command?

And when necessity's obey'd,  
Nothing can be unjust, or bad :  
And therefore when the mighty pow'rs 205  
Of Love, *our great ally, and yours,*  
Join'd forces not to be withstood  
By frail enamour'd flesh and blood;

All I have done, unjust or ill,  
Was in obedience to your will; 210  
And all the blame that can be due,  
Falls to your cruelty and you.

Nor are those scandals I confess,  
Against my will and interest,  
More than is daily done of course, 215  
By all men, when they're under force.

At the Restoration it was debated several hours together, whether Philip Nye and John Goodwin should not be excepted for life; because they had acted so highly (none more so, except Hugh Peters) against the King; and it came at last to this result, That if after the first of September, the same year, they should accept any preferment, they should in law stand as if they had been excepted totally for life. Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 369.

Whence some, upon the rack, confess  
 What th' hangman, and their prompters please;  
 But are no sooner out of pain,  
 Than they deny it all again. 220  
 But when the devil turns confessor,  
 Truth is a crime, he takes no pleasure  
 To hear, or pardon, like the Founder  
 Of Liars, whom they all claim under.  
 And therefore, when I told him none, 225  
 I think it was the wiser done.  
 Nor am I without precedent,  
 The first that on th' adventure went :  
 All mankind ever did of course,  
 And daily does the same, or worse. 230  
 For what Romance can shew a lover,  
 That had a *Lady to recover*,  
 And did not steer a nearer course,  
 To fall a-board in his amours ?  
 And what at first was held a crime, 235  
 Has turn'd to honourable in time.  
 To what a height did Infant Rome,  
 By ravishing of women, come ?

ψ. 230. *And daily does.*] In all editions to 1716 inclusive. *Daily do*, 1726, &c.

ψ. 233. *And did not steer a nearer course.*] This is true of some romances, particularly of *Amadis de Gaul*, and *Amadis of Greece*; but of no others that I know of.

ψ. 237. *To what a height did Infant Rome, &c.*] \* When Romulus had built Rome, he made it an asylum, or place of refuge for all malefactors, and others obnoxious to the laws, to retire to; by which means it soon came to be very populous. But when he began to consider, that without propagation it would soon be destitute of inhabitants, he invented several fine shews, and invited the young Sabine women, then neighbours, to them; and when they had them secure, they ravished them; from whence proceeded so numerous an offspring.

308 AN HEROICAL EPISTLE OF

When men upon their spouses seiz'd,  
 And freely marry'd where they pleas'd: 240  
 They ne'er Forswore themselves, nor Ly'd,  
 Nor in the mind they were in, Dy'd:  
 Nor took the pains t' *address*, and *sue*,  
 Nor play'd the *masquerade* to wooe:  
 Disdain'd to stay for friends' consents, 245  
 Nor juggled about settlements;  
 Did need no License, nor no Priest,  
 Nor friends, nor kindred, to assist;  
 Nor lawyers, to join *land and money*,  
 In th' *holy state of matrimony*, 250  
 Before they settled hands and hearts,  
 Till Alimony, or *Death* departs:  
 Nor wou'd endure to stay until  
 Th' had got the very Bride's good will,  
 But took a wise and shorter course 255  
 To win the ladies, *down-right force*:  
 And justly made 'em prisoners then,  
 As they have often since, us men,  
 With Acting Plays, and Dancing Jigs,  
 The luckiest of all love's intrigues; 260  
 And when they had them at their pleasure,  
 Then talk'd of Love, and Flames, at leisure:  
 For after Matrimony's over,  
 He that holds out but *half a lover*,  
 Deserves, for ev'ry *minute, more* 265  
 Than *half a year* of love before;  
 For which the dames, in contemplation  
 Of that best way of application,

Y. 252. *Till Alimony, or Death departs.*] \* Alimony is an allowance that the law gives the woman for her separate maintenance upon living (separate from her husband: that and death are reckoned the only separations in a married state.

HUDIBRAS TO HIS LADY. 309

Prov'd nobler wives than e'er were known,  
By Suit, or Treaty, to be won : 270

And such as all posterity  
Cou'd never equal, nor come nigh.

For women first were made for men,  
Not men for them. — It follows, then,  
That men have right to every one, 275

And they no freedom of their own :  
And therefore men have pow'r to chuse,  
But they no charter to refuse.

Hence 'tis apparent, that what course  
Soc'er we take to *your amours*, 280

Though by the indirecatest way,  
'Tis no Injustice, nor foul play ;

And that you ought to take that course,  
As we take you, *for better or worse* ;

And gratefully submit to those 285  
Who you, before another, chose.

For why should ev'ry savage beast  
Exceed his Great Lord's interett ?

Have freer pow'r, than he, in Grace,  
And Nature, o'er the creature has ? 290

Because the laws he since has made,  
Have cut off all the pow'r he had ;

Retrench'd the absolute dominion  
That Nature gave him over women ;

When all his pow'r will not extend 295  
One *law of Nature* to suspend :

And but to offer to repeal  
The smallest clause, is to rebel.

This, if men rightly understood  
Their privilege, they would make good ; 300

And not, like sots, permit their wives  
T' encroach on their prerogatives ;



310 AN HEROICAL EPISTLE OF

For which sin they deserve to be  
Kept, as they are, in slavery :  
And this some precious Gifted Teachers, 305  
Unrev'rently reputed Leachers,  
And disobey'd in making love,  
Have vow'd to all the world to prove,  
And make ye suffer, as you ought,  
For that uncharitable fault. 310  
But I forget myself, and rove  
Beyond th' instructions of my love.

Forgive me, Fair, and only blame  
Th' extravagancy of my Flame ;  
Since 'tis too much, at once to show 315  
Excess of love and temper too.  
All I have said that's *bad, and true,*  
Was never meant to aim at you,  
Who have so sov'reign a controul:  
O'er that poor slave of yours, *my soul,* 320  
That rather than to forfeit you,  
Has ventur'd *Loss of Heaven too:*

ψ. 305, 306. — *some precious Gifted Teachers,—Unrev'rently reputed Leachers.*] Sir Roger L'Estrange (Key to Hudibras) mentions Mr Case as one; and Mr Butler, in his Posthumous Works, mentions Dr Burgess, and Hugh Peters: and the writer of A Letter to the Earl of Pembroke, 1647, p. 9. observes of Peters, "That it was offered to be publicly proved, that he got both mother and daughter with child." "I am glad (says an anonymous person, "Thurloe's State-papers, vol. iv. p. 734.) to hear that Mr Peters shews his head again; it was reported here, (Amsterdam, May 5. 1655) that he was found with a whore a-bed, and that he grew mad, and said nothing but O blood, O blood that troubles me." See more, Committee-man curried, by S. S. 1647, 2d part, act ii. p. 6. A Quarrel betwixt Tower-hill and Tyburn, Collection of Loyal Songs, vol. II. No. ii. p. 3. Hist. of Independency, part ii. p. 187, part iv. p. 15, &c. Dialogue between Mr Guthrie and Mr Giffan, 1661, p. 22.

Both with an equal pow'r possess,  
 To render all that serve you blest:  
 But none like him, who's destin'd either 325  
 To have, or lose you, both together.  
 And if you'll but this fault release,  
 (For so it must be, since you please)  
 I'll pay down all that ~~vow~~ and more,  
 Which you *commanded* and I *swore*, 330  
 And expiate upon my skin  
 Th' arrears in full of all my sin.  
 For 'tis but just that I should pay  
 Th' accruing penance for delay,  
 Which shall be done, until it move 335  
 Your equal pity, and your love.

The Knight, perusing this Epistle,  
 Believ'd h' had brought her to his Whistle;  
 And read it, like a jocund lover,  
 With great applause t' himself twice over: 340  
 Subscrib'd his Name, but at a fit  
 And humble distance to his Wit,  
 And dated it with wond'rous art,  
 Giv'n from the bottom of his heart;  
 Then seal'd it with his *Coat of Love*, 345  
*A smoking faggot*,—and above  
 Upon a scroll—I burn and weep,  
 And near it—*For her Ladyship*;  
*Of all her sex most excellent*,  
*These to her gentle hands present*. 350  
 Then gave it to his faithful Squire,  
 With lessons how t' observe, and eye her.

Y. 349. Of all her sex most excellent.]

"O Dido, primrose of perfection."

Cotton's Virgil Travestie, b. 1. See Don Quixote, vol. II.  
 chap. iii. p. 45.

Y. 351. Then gave it to his faithful Squire,] The quaint

312 AN HEROICAL EPISTLE, &c.

She first consider'd which was better,  
 To send it back, or burn the letter;  
 But guessing that it might import, 355  
 Though nothing else, at least her sport,  
 She open'd it, and read it out,  
 With many a smile and leering flout :  
 Resolv'd to answer it in kind,  
 And thus perform'd what she design'd. 360

Superscription of this famous letter, and the solemn manner of the Knight's delivering it, with directions to his Squire, is very diverting: it puts me in mind of the like solemnity in *Don Quixote*, book iii. ch. ii. p. 284. which if the reader pleases to compare with the scene before him, it may add to his diversion; and he will be pleased to find, that our Knight exactly adheres to the laws of knight-errantry. Mr B.

ψ. 352. *With lessons how t' observe, and eye her.*] Don Quixote, when he sent his Squire Sancho to his mistress Dulcinea del Toboso, (see 3d vol. ch. x. p. 85.) gives him the following directions: "Go then, auspicious youth, and  
 "have a care of being daunted, when thou approachest the  
 "beams of that refulgent sun of beauty.—Observe and en-  
 "grave in thy memory the manner of this reception; mark  
 "whether her colour changes upon the delivery of thy com-  
 "mission; whether her looks betray any emotion or con-  
 "cern when she hears my name. In short, observe all her  
 "actions—every motion, every gesture, for by the accurate  
 "relation of these things, I shall divine the secrets of her  
 "breast, and draw just inferences so far as this imports to  
 "my amour."

T H E

## L A D Y ' s   A N S W E R

T O   T H E

K N I G H T.

**T**HAT you're a Beast, and turn'd to Grass,  
 Is no strange news, nor ever was,  
 At least to me, who once, you know,  
 Did from the pound *replevin* you,  
 When both your Sword and Spurs were won      5  
 In combat, by an Amazon :  
 That sword, that did, like Fate, determine  
 Th' inevitable death of vermine ;  
 And never dealt its furious blows,  
 But cut the throats of Pigs and Cows ;      10  
 By Trulla was, in *single fight*,  
 Disarm'd, and wrested *from its Knight* ;  
 Your heels *degraded* of your spurs,  
 And in the stocks close prisoners.

*ψ. 4. Did from the pound replevin you.] Replevin, the releasing of cattle, or other goods distrained, with surety to answer the distrainer's suit. See Jacobs's Law Dictionary, and Bailey.*

*ψ. 13. Your heels degraded of your spurs.] To this the author of Butler's Ghost refers, Canto i. p. 89.*

" You look, as if y' had something in ye,  
 " Much different from the *quondam* Ninny,  
 " That sat with hamper'd foot i' th' stocks,  
 " Dispersing his insipid jokes."

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D d

## 314 THE LADY'S ANSWER

Where still they'd layn, in base restraint, 15  
 If I, in pity of your complaint,  
 Had not, on honourable conditions,  
 Releas't 'em from the worst of prisons;  
 And what return that favour met,  
 You cannot, (though you wou'd) forget; 20  
 When being free, you strove t' evade  
 The oaths you had in prison made;  
 Forswore yourself, and first deny'd it,  
 But after own'd, and justify'd it:  
 And when y' had falsly broke one Vow, 25  
 Absolv'd yourself, by *breaking two*.  
 For while you sneakingly submit,  
 And beg for pardon at our feet,  
 Discourag'd by your guilty fears,  
 To hope for quarter for your Ears; 30  
 And doubting 'twas in vain to sue,  
 You claim us boldly as your due;  
 Declare that treachery and force,  
 To deal with us, is th' only course;  
 We have no tittle nor pretence 35  
 To Body, Soul, or Conscience:  
 But ought to fall to that man's share  
 That claims us for his proper ware.  
 'These are the motives, which t' induce,  
 Or fright us into love, you use. 40

And perhaps, as Bertram observes of Parolles the coward, (see Shakespear's play, entitled, *All's well, that ends well*, act 4.), "His heels deserved it, for usurping his spurs so long."

In England, when a knight was degraded, his gilt spurs were beaten from his heels, and his sword taken from him, and broken. See Sir William Segar's book, *Of Honour, Civil and Military*, lib. II. chap. xiii. p. 75. Selden's *Titles of Honour*, 2d edit. part II. chap. v. p. 787.



A pretty new way of Gallanting,  
 Between Soliciting and Ranting;  
 Like sturdy beggars, that intreat  
 For Charity at once, and *threat*.  
 But since you undertake to prove 45  
 Your own propriety in love,  
 As if we were but *lawful prize*  
 In War, between two enemies;  
 Or Forfeitures, which ev'ry lover,  
 That would but sue for, might recover; 50  
 It is not hard to understand  
 The Myſ'try of this bold demand;  
 That cannot at our persons aim,  
 But something capable of claim.  
 'Tis not *those paltry counterfeit* 55  
*French ſtones*, which in our eyes you ſet,  
 But our Right Diamonds, that inſpire  
 And ſet your am'rous hearts on fire:  
 Nor can theſe falſe St Martin's Beads  
 Which on our lips you lay for Reds, 60  
 And make us wear, like Indian Dames,  
 Add fuel to your ſcorching flames:

ψ. 43, 44. *Like sturdy beggars, that entreat—For Charity at once, and threat.*] It is obſerved of the beggars in Spain, that they are very proud, and when they ask an alms, it is in a very imperious and domineering way. See Lady's Travels into Spain, part the laſt, p. 228.

ψ. 57. *But our Right Diamonds, that inſpire.*] The Tatler ſeems, in one inſtance, to be of a different opinion. (No. 151.) "What jewel (ſays he) can the charming Cleora place in her ears, that can pleaſe her beholders ſo much as her eyes?—The cluſter of diamonds upon her breaſt, can add no beauty to the fair cheſt of ivory that ſupports it; it may, indeed, tempt a man to ſteal a woman, but not to love her."

ψ. 61. *And make us wear, like Indian Dames, &c.*] Who wore ſtones hung at their lips. (Mr W.) The Braſilians do

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But those *true rubies* of the rock,  
Which in our cabinets we lock.  
'Tis not those Orient Pearls, our teeth, 65  
That you are so transported with;  
But those we wear about our necks,  
Produce those amorous effects.  
Nor is't those Threads of Gold, our Hair,  
The *periwigs you make us wear*; 70  
But those bright Guineas in our chests,  
That light the wild-fire in your breasts.  
These love-tricks I've been vers'd in so,  
That all their *fly* Intrigues I know,  
And can unriddle by their Tones, 75  
Their Mystic Cabals, and Jargones :  
Can tell what passions, by their sounds,  
Pine for the beauties of my grounds ;  
What raptures fond and amorous  
O' th' Charms and Graces of my house ; 80  
What Extasy, and *scorching flame*,  
Burns for my Money, in my name :  
What from th' unnatural desire,  
To Beasts and cattle takes its fire ;  
What *tender sigh*, and *trickling tear*, 85  
Longs for a *thousand pounds a year*;

so, as Maffeus affirms. Purchas his Pilgrims, vol. V. book ix. p. 906. See Knivet's account, *ibid.* vol. iv. p. 1225. and an account of the several nations that wear stones in their lips, Dr Bulwer's Artificial Changeling, sc. 11.

ψ. 65. 'Tis not those Orient Pearls, our teeth, &c.] In the History of Don Fenise, a romance, translated from the Spanish of Francisco de Las Coveras, 1651. Don Antonio, speaking of his Mistress Charity, p. 269, says, " My covetousness exceeding my love, counselled me, that it was better to have gold in money, than in threeds of hair; and to possess pearls that resembled teeth, than teeth that were like pearls."

And languishing transports are fond  
Of Statute, Mortgage, *Bill and Bond*.

These are th' attracts which most men fall  
Inamour'd, at first sight, withal ; 90

To these th' address with Serenades,  
And court with Balls and Masquerades ;  
And yet, for all the yearning pain  
Y' have suffer'd for their loves, in vain,  
I fear they'll prove so nice and coy 95

To *have, and t' bold, and to enjoy,*  
That all your Oaths and *labour lost,*  
They'll ne'er turn *Ladies of the Post.*  
This is not meant to disapprove  
Your judgment, in your choice of love ; 100

Which is so wise, the greatest part  
Of mankind study it as an art ;  
For love shou'd, *like a deodand,*  
Still fall to th' *Owner of the Land :*  
And where there's substance for its ground, 105

Cannot but be more firm and sound,  
Than that which has the slighter basis  
Of Airy Virtue, Wit, and Graces ;  
Which is of such thin subtlety,  
It steals and creeps in at the eye, 110  
And, as it can't endure to stay,  
Steals out again, *as nice a way.*

But Love, that its extraction owns  
From solid Gold, and *precious stones,*  
Must, like its shining parents, prove 115  
As Solid, and as Glorious Love.

ψ. 103. —like a deodand.] A thing given, or rather  
forfeited to God, for the pacification of his wrath, in case  
of misadventure. See Manley's Interpreter. Jacob's Law  
Dictionary. Wood's Institute of the Common Law of Eng-  
land, p. 212, 213.

Hence 'tis, you have no way t' express  
 Our Charms and Graces, but by these :  
 For what are Lips, and Eyes, and Teeth,  
 Which Beauty invades and conquers with ; 120  
 But Rubies, Pearls, and Diamonds,  
 With which, a Philter-Love Commands ?  
 This is the way all parents prove,  
 In managing their childrens love ;  
 That force 'em t' inter-marry and wed, 125  
 As if th' were burying of the dead ;  
 Cast *Earth to Earth*, as in the Grave,  
 To join in wedlock all they have ;

ψ. 123, 124. *This is the way all parents prove,—In managing their childrens love.*] The author of the Devil upon Two Sticks, gives an instance of this, in the case of a delicate young lady, whom her prudent parents prostituted to the embraces of an old brute. "The beastly sot (says he) was rival to one of a very agreeable character: their fortunes were equal; but I dare say you'll laugh at the merit which preferred this worthy to the choice of the mother: you must know he had a pigeon-house upon his estate, which the other had not: this turned the balance in his favour, and determined the fate of that unfortunate lady." See Tatler, No. 185, 188. Spectator, No. 15. No. 181.

ψ. 127. *Cast earth to earth, as in the Grave.*] Alluding to the burial office, which was scandalously ridiculed in those times. One Brook, a London lecturer, at the burial of Mr John Gough, of St James's, Duke's Place, within Aldgate, London, used the following words:

"Ashes to ashes, dust to dust ;

"Here's the pit, and in thou must."

*Mercurius Rusticus*, No. ix. p. 97.

Mr Cheynel behaved as remarkably at the funeral of Mr Chillingworth. After a reflecting speech upon the deceased, he threw his book, entitled, *The Religion of Protestants a safe Way to Salvation*, into the grave, saying, "Get thee gone, thou cursed book, which has seduced so many precious souls: *earth to earth, dust to dust*: get thee into the place of rottenness, that thou mayst rot with the au-

And when the settlement's in force,  
Take all the rest, *for better, or worse:* 130

For money has a power above.

The Stars, and Fate, to manage Love:

Whose arrows, learned poets hold,

That never miss, are *tipp'd with gold.*

And though some say, the parents claims. 135

To make love in their children's names;

Who many times, at once provide

The Nurse, the Husband, and the Bride;

Feel Darts and Charms, Attracts and Flames,

And Woo, and Contract, in their Names: 140

And as they christen, use to marry 'em,

And, like their Gossips, answer for 'em:

Is not to give in matrimony,

But *sell* and prostitute for money.

"thor, and see corruption." Mr Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. iii. p. 102. from Chillingworth's Life, p. 314.

ψ. 131, 132. *For money has a pow'r above—The Stars, and Fate, to manage Love.*] See Butler's Ghost, Canto i. p. 61. How small a matter will sometimes preponderate in this case, appears from the Spectator, (No. 15.), who mentions a young lady, who was warmly solicited by a couple of importunate rivals, who, for many months together, did all they could to recommend themselves, by complacency of behaviour, and agreeableness of conversation. At length, when the competition was doubtful, and the lady undetermined in her choice, one of the young lovers luckily be-thought himself of adding a supernumerary lace to his liveries, which had so good an effect, that he married her the very week after.

ψ. 133. *Whose arrows, learned poets hold, &c.*] \* The Poets feign Cupid to have two sorts of arrows, the one tipped with gold, and the other with lead: the golden always inspire and inflame love in the person he wounds with them; but, on the contrary, the leaden create the utmost aversion and hatred. With the first of these he shot Apollo, and with the other Daphne, according to Ovid.



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'Tis better than their own betrothing, 145  
 Who often do't for worse than nothing :  
 And when th' are at their own dispose,  
 With greater disadvantage choose.  
 All this is right; but for the course  
 You take to do't, by fraud, or force, 150  
 'Tis so ridiculous, as soon  
 As told, 'tis never to be done,  
 No more than *setters can betray*,  
 That tell what tricks they are to play.  
 Marriage, at best, is but a vow, 155  
 Which all men either *break*, or *bow* :  
 Then what will those forbear to do,  
 Who *perjure*, when they do but *woo*?  
 Such as beforehand *swear and ly*,  
 For Earnest to their treachery : 160  
 And rather than a crime confess,  
 With *greater* strive to make it *less* :  
 Like Thieves, who, after sentence past,  
 Maintain their innocence to the last ;  
 And when their crimes were made appear 165  
 As plain as witnesses can swear,  
 Yet when the wretches come to die,  
 Will take upon their death a lie.  
 Nor are the virtues, you confess  
 T' your ghostly father, as you guest, 170  
 So slight, as to be justify'd,  
 By being as shamefully deny'd.  
 As if you thought your word would pass,  
 Point-blank, on both sides of a case ;  
 Or credit were not to be lost, 175  
 B' a brave Knight-Errant of the Post,  
 That eats, perfidiously, his Word,  
 And swears his ears, through a two inch board :

Can own the same thing, and disown,  
 And *perjure* booty, *Pro* and *Con*: 183  
 Can make the Gospel serve his turn,  
 And help him out, to be forsworn;  
 When 'tis laid hands upon, and kist,  
 To be betray'd, and sold like Christ.  
 These are the virtues, in whose name 185  
 A right to all the world you claim,  
 And boldly challenge a dominion,  
 In Grace and Nature, o'er all women:  
 Of whom, no less will satisfy,  
 Than all the sex your tyranny. 190  
 Although you'll find it a hard province,  
 With all your crafty frauds and covins,  
 To govern such a num'rous crew,  
 Who, one by one, now govern you:  
 For if you all were Solomons, 195  
 And Wise and Great as he was once,

ψ. 183. *When 'tis laid hands upon, and kist.*] The way of taking an oath, is by laying the right-hand upon the four Evangelists, which denominates it a *corporal oath*. This method was not always complied with in those iniquitous times.

In the trial of Mr Christopher Love, in the year 1651, one Jaquel, an evidence, laid his hand upon his buttons, and not upon the book, when the oath was tendered him. And when he was questioned for it, he answered, "I am as good as under an oath." (Abridgment of the State Trials, vol. f. part ii. 8vo, 1720. p. 602.) And in the trial of the brave Col. Morrice who kept Pontefract castle for the King, at York, by Thorp and Puleston, when he challenged one Brook, his professed enemy, the Court answered, he spoke too late, Brook was sworn already. Brook being asked the question, whether he were sworn or no? replied, he had not yet kist the book. The Court answered, that was no matter, it was but a ceremony; he was recorded sworn, and there was no speaking against a record. Walker's History of the dependency, part ii. p. 250.

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You'll find they're able to subdue  
*(As they did him)* and baffle you.

And if you are impos'd upon,  
 'Tis by your own temptation done, 200

That with your ignorance invite,  
 And teach us how to use the slight.  
 For when we find y' are still more taken  
*With false attracts of our own making,*

Swear that's a Rose, and that a Stone, 205  
 Like Sots, to us that laid it on ;

And what we did but slightly prime,  
 Most ignorantly daub in rhyme ;  
 You force us, in our own defences,  
 To Copy Beams and Influences ; 210

To lay Perfections on the Graces,  
 And draw Attracts upon our faces :  
 And, in compliance to your wit,  
 Your own false jewels counterfeit :  
 For, by the practice of those arts, 215

We gain a greater share of hearts ;  
 And those deserve in reason most,  
 That greatest pains and study cost :  
 For great perfections are, like Heav'n,  
 Too rich a present to be given. 220

Nor are those *master-strokes of Beauty*  
 To be perform'd, without hard duty ;  
 Which, when they're nobly done, and well,  
 The simple natural excell.

How fair and sweet the Planted Rose, 225  
 Beyond the Wild in hedges grows !  
 For, without art, the noblest seeds  
 Of flow'rs, degen'rate into weeds.

How dull and rugged, ere 'tis ground  
 And polish'd, looks a diamond ! 230

Though paradise were e'er so fair,  
 It was not kept so, without care.  
 The whole world, without Art and Dress,  
 Would be but one great Wilderness;  
 And mankind but a savage herd, 235  
 For all that Nature has conferr'd.  
 This does but Rough-hew, and Design,  
 Leaves Art to Polish and Refine.  
 Though women first were made for men,  
 Yet men were made for them agen : 240  
 For when (*out-witted by his wife*)  
 Man first turn'd Tenant but *for life*;  
 If woman had not interven'd,  
 How soon had mankind had an end !  
 And that it is in Being yet, 245  
 To us alone you are in Debt.  
 And where's your liberty of choice,  
 And our unnatural No Voice ?  
 Since all the Privilege you boast,  
 And falsely *usurp'd*, or *vainly lost*, 250  
 Is now our right ; to whose Creation  
 You owe your Happy Restoration.  
 And if we had not weighty Cause  
 To not appear, in making laws,  
 We could, in spite of all your Tricks, 255  
 And *shallow, formal politics*,  
 Force you our Managements t' obey,  
 As we to yours (in shew) give way.  
 Hence 'tis that while you vainly strive  
 T' advance your *high prerogative*, 260  
 You basely, after all your braves,  
 Submit, and own yourselves our slaves ;  
 And 'cause we do not make it known,  
 Nor publicly our int'rests own ;

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Like sots, suppose we have no shares 265  
 In ord'ring you, and your affairs :  
 When all your empire and command,  
 You have from us, at second hand :  
 As if a Pilot, that appears  
 To sit still only, while he steers, 270  
 And does not make a noise and stir,  
 Like ev'ry common Mariner,  
 Knew nothing of the card, nor star,  
 And did not guide the Man of War :  
 Nor we, because we don't appear 275  
 In Councils, do not govern there :  
 While, like the mighty Prester John,  
 Whose person none dares look upon,  
 But is preserv'd in close disguise,  
 From being made cheap to vulgar eyes, 280

Y. 277. *While, like the mighty Prester John, &c.*] \* Prester John, an absolute prince, Emiperor of Abyssinia or Ethiopia. One of them is reported to have had seventy kings for his vassals, and so superb and arrogant, that none durst look upon him without his permission. See Browne's *Vulgar Errors*, book VI. chap. x. p. 353. See the various interpretations of his name, *Ludolfi Histor. Aethiopic. lib. II. cap. i. §. 13. id. ib. §. 23.* Sir John Maundeville's *Voyages and Travels*, edit. 1727. chap. 27, 28, 29. Spanish Mandeville, book ii. folio 55, 56, 57. The Voyage and Adventures of Hernando Mendez Pinto, ch. iii. p. 5. Purchas his Pilgrims, part ii. lib. VII. ch. v. p. 1127. J. Taylor's Works, p. 166. Heylin's *Cosmography*, 1670. p. 986. Collier's Dictionary.

" But if his purpose do not vary,  
 " He means to fetch one more vagary,  
 " To see before his coming back,  
 " The mighty bounds of Prester Jack."

Mr W. Austin's Panegyric Verses upon T. Coriat, and his Crudities. See likewise J. Donne's.

Y. 278, 279, 280. *Whose person none dares look upon,—But is preserv'd in close disguise,—From being made cheap to vulgar eyes.*] Sir Francis Alvarez, a Portugal priest, in



W<sup>e</sup> enjoy as large a pow'r unseen,  
 To govern him, as he does men :  
 And in the right of our Pope Joan,  
 Make Emp'rors at our feet fall down ;

his Voyage to the Court of Prete Janni, (see Purchas his Pilgrims, part ii. p. 1082.), observes, " That he commonly sheweth himself thrice a year, on Christmas day, on Easter day, and on Holy-Rood Day in September. And the cause why he thus sheweth himself thrice, is because his grandfather, whose name was Alexander, was kept three years secret after his death, by his servants, who governed the country all the mean while : for until that time, none of the people might see their king ; neither was he seen of any, but a few of his servants. And at the request of the people, the father of David, one of their Emperors, shewed himself three days ; and this king also doth the like." See Le Blanc's Voyages and Travels, part II. ch. xi. p. 227.

ψ. 283, 284. *And in the right of our Pope Joan,—Make Emp'rors at our feet fall down.*] This is a notable gird upon Pope Alexander III. who had a meeting with the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa at Venice. (Sir W. Segar says, in the year 1166. Sir Paul Rycaut in the year 1177.) The following account of which is given by Sir W. Segar. (Of Honour, Military and Civil, ch. xxvii. p. 152.) " The Emperor being arrived at Venice, the Pope was set in a rich chair at the church door.—Before the Pope's feet a carpet of purple was spread upon the ground ; the Emperor being come to the said carpet, forthwith fell down, and from thence (upon his knees) went towards the Pope to kiss his feet ; which done, the Pope with his hand lifted him up.

" From thence they passed together unto the great altar, in St Mark's Church, whereon was set the table of precious stones, which at this day is reputed one of the greatest treasures in Europe. Some have reported, that the Emperor did prostrate himself before the altar, and the Pope set his foot on his neck : while this was a doing, the clergy sung the psalm of David, which saith, *Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis* ; which the Emperor hearing, said, *Non tibi, sed Petro* : the Pope answered, *Et mihi, et Petro.*" See Sir Paul Rycaut's History of the Popes, p. 246. Mr L. Howel's History of the Pontificate,

Or Joan de Pucel's braver name, 285  
 Our right to Arms and Conduct claim;  
 Who, though a Spinster, yet was able  
 To serve France for a Grand Constable.

p. 341. *Wolffi Lecture. Memorab. par. i. p. 375. par. ii. p. 425.* Fougasse's History of Venice, by Shute, part i. p. 109. Mitton's Voyage, vol. i. p. 173, 177.) See an account of Pope Hildebrand's excommunication, and barbarous usage of the Emperor Henry IV. in Platina and Genebrard. *Chronic. ann. 1073.*

ψ. 285. *Or Joan de Pucel's braver name.*] \* Joan of Arc, called also the *pucelle*, or maid of Orleans. She was born at the town of Damremi on the Meuse, daughter of James d'Arc and Isabella Romee, was bred up a shepherdess in the country. At the age of eighteen or twenty, she pretended to an express commission from God, to go to the relief of Orleans, then besieged by the English, and defended by John Comte de Dennis, and almost reduced to the last extremity. She went to the coronation of Charles VII. when he was almost ruined: she knew that Prince in the midst of his nobles, though meanly habited. The Doctors of Divinity, and Members of Parliament, openly declared that there was something supernatural in her conduct. She sent for a sword that lay in the tomb of a Knight, which was behind the great altar of the church of St Catharine de Forbois, upon the blade of which the Cross and Flower-de-luces were engraven, which put the King in a very great surprise, in regard none besides himself knew of it: upon this he sent her with the command of some troops, with which she relieved Orleans, and drove the English from it, defeated Talbot at the battle of Patai, and recovered Champagne. At last she was unfortunately taken prisoner, in a sally at Champagne, in 1430, and tried for a witch, or sorceress, condemned and burnt in Rouen market-place, in May 1430.

Mr Anstis observes, (*Register of the Garter*, vol. i. p. 433.) "That Joan, the maid of Orleans, for her valiant actions, "was ennobled, and had a grant of arms, dated Jan. 16. "1429, and her pursuivant named *Hear de Liz*."

See a further account of her, Mezeray's *Hist. of France*, translated by Bulteel, vol. i. p. 453.

ψ. 288. *To serve France for a Grand Constable.*] All this is a satire on King Charles II. who was governed so much

We make, and execute *all laws*,  
 Can judge the Judges, and the Cause; 290  
 Prescribe all rules of Right or Wrong,  
 To th' Long Robe, and the Longer Tongue;  
 'Gainst which the world *has no defence*,  
 But our more *powerful eloquence*.  
 We manage things of greatest weight, 295  
 In all the world's *Affairs of State*,  
 Are ministers of war and peace,  
 That sway all Nations how we please.  
 We rule all Churches, *and their flocks*,  
 Heretical, and Orthodox, 300  
 And are the *heavenly vehicles*  
 O' th' Spirits, *in all conventicles*:  
 By us is all Commerce and Trade  
 Improv'd, and *manag'd*, and *decay'd*;  
 For nothing can go off so well, 305  
 Nor bears that price, *as what we sell*.  
 We rule in ev'ry Public Meeting,  
 And make men do what we judge fitting;  
 Are magistrates in all great Towns,  
 Where men do nothing, but *wear gowns*. 310  
 We make the *Man of War strike sail*,  
 And to our braver conduct *veil*,

by his mistresses; particularly this line seems to allude to his French mistress, the Duchess of Portsmouth, given by that Court, whom she served in the important post of governing King Charles as they directed. (Mr W.) See Mr Fenton's Observations upon Mr Waller's Poems, p. 78, 79.

J. Davies, in his Relation of Achen, observes, That the women there are the King's chief counsellors; and that a woman was his admiral. See Purchas his Pilgrims, part i. lib. 3. chap. i. sect. 5. p. 122.

ψ. 290. *Can judge the Judges, and the Cause.*]

"Make rev'rend judges speak with awe,

"And a bad title good in law."

Hudibras's Ghost, canto ii. p. 62.

And, when h' has chac'd his enemies,  
Submit to us upon his knees.

Is there an *Officer of State* 315

*Untimely rais'd*, or Magistrate

That's Haughty and Imperious?

He's but a Journeyman to us,

That as he gives us cause to do't,

Can keep him in, or turn him out. 320

We are your Guardians, that *increase*,

Or *waste* your fortunes how we please;

And, as you humour us, can deal

In all your matters, *ill or well*.

'Tis we that can dispose alone, 325

Whether your Heirs shall be your *own*,

To whose integrity you must,

In spite of all your caution, trust;

And, 'less you fly beyond the seas,

Can sit you with what heirs we please; 330

And force you t' own 'em, though begotten

By French Valets, or Irish Footmen.

Nor can the rigorousst course

Prevail, unless to make us worse;

Who still, the harsher we are us'd, 335

Are further off from being reduc'd;

And scorn t' abate, for any ill,

The least *punctilios* of our wills.

Force does but whet our wits t' apply

Arts born with us, for remedy; 340

V. 311, 312. *We make the Man of War strike sail,—And to our braver conduct veil.*] Alluding probably to Sir William Waller. See Mr Cleveland's Character of a London Diurnal.

V. 331, 332. *And force you t' own 'em, though begotten—By French Valets, or Irish Footmen.*] See Tatler, No. 100.

Which all your Politics, as yet,  
 Have ne'er been able to defeat :  
 For when y' have try'd *all sorts of ways*,  
 What fools d' we make of you in plays ?  
 While all the favours we afford, 345  
 Are but to girt you with the sword,  
 'To fight our battles in our steads,  
 And have your brains beat out o' your heads ;  
 Encounter, in despite of nature,  
 And fight at once with fire and water, 350  
 With pirates, rocks, and storms, and seas,  
 Our Pride and Vanity t' appease ;  
 Kill one another, and cut throats,  
 For our good graces, and best thoughts ;  
 To do your exercise for honour, 355  
 And have your brains beat out the sooner ;  
 Or crack'd, as learnedly, upon  
 'Things that are never to be known :  
 And still appear the more industrious,  
 The more your projects are prepos't'rous ; 360  
 'To square the circle of the arts,  
 And run stark mad to shew your parts ;  
 Expound the oracle of laws,  
 And turn them which way we see cause ;  
 Be our solicitors, and agents, 365  
 And stand for us in all engagements.  
 And these are all the Mighty Pow'rs  
 You vainly boast, to cry down ours ;

Y. 353, 354. *Kill one another, and cut throats.*—For our good graces, and best thoughts.] Of this kind were the commands from Bifalta and Pippea, to their lovers Favorinus and Hortensius. See Dr Bailey's Romance, written in Newgate, and published 1650, in folio, with this title, *Herbs Parietis*, or the Wall-flower, p. 124. &c.

And what in real value's wanting,  
 Supply with vapouring and ranting : 370  
 Because yourselves are terrify'd,  
 And stoop to one another's pride;  
 Believe we have as little wit  
 To be Out-Hector'd, and *submit* :  
 By your Example, lose that right 375  
 In Treaties, which we gain'd in Fight :  
 And terrify'd into an awe,  
 Pass on ourselves a Salique Law :

Y. 378. *Pass on ourselves a Salique Law.*] Pharamond, the first king of France, died about the year 428. An ancient chronicle gives him the credit of settling the Salique Law by four Lords, and says, They laboured in it for three *malles*, or assizes; and that it is called *Salique*, from the *Saliens*, the noblest of the French people. Mezeray's Hist. of France, translated by Bulteel, 1683, p. 7. De Serre's History of France, by Peter Matthew, 1624, p. 5, 6. *Spelmanni Glossar. Lex Salica*, p. 363. Moll's Geography, p. 63. Davila's History of the Civil Wars of France, b. i. p. 3, 4.

Nauclerus (*Vide Chronograph.* vol. ii. p. 523.) thinks it was called *Lex Salica*, from Salagutus, one of the doctors that drew it up. See Whettstone's English Mirror, 1586, lib. 2. ch. viii. p. 137. Dr Heylin says, (*Cosmography*, 5th edit. p. 177.) it was so called, as is pretended, because the words *si aliquis* are so often used in it.

Others call its antiquity in question, and think it was four hundred years later than Pharamond, and made by Charles the Great, against the German women inheriting lands in their small domains between the Sala and the Elbe; and if so, it had no signification to the French. See Echard's History of England, vol. i. p. 437, 438.

But whether the claim is in Pharamond or Charles the Great, if we may credit Dr Howel, (see his Institution of General History, part iii. p. 465.) the first time that it was put in execution was after the death of Lewis X. or Lewis Hutin, the forty-sixth king of France, who died the fifth day of June 1316, (see Translation of Mezeray, p. 344, 345.) and left his Queen Clementia great with child of a son called John, who died the eight day after he was born. He



Or, as some nations use, give place,  
And truckle to *your mighty race*,

380

left a daughter also named Joanna, begotten of Margaret, daughter of Robert Duke of Burgundy, for whom her uncle Odo, brother of this Robert, challenged this kingdom in right both of her father and brother; but Philip, surnamed the *Long*, brought her uncle Odo over to his interest, by marrying to him his own daughter Joanna.—At this time, and in this case, was this law first objected, almost nine whole ages after it was first enacted. Edward III. King of England, not long after this, namely in the year 1328, (see Echard's History of England, vol. i. p. 342.) claimed the crown of France, in right of his mother Isabella, daughter of Philip IV. surnamed Philip the *Fair*. See Selden's Notes upon Drayton's Polyolbion, 17th song, p. 275. Stowe's Chronicle, by Howes, p. 691. Puffendorf's Introduction to the History of Europe, 6th edit. p. 113.

“ It was not so, when Edward prov'd his cause,

“ By a sword stronger than the Salique Laws.

“ Though fetch'd from Pharamond, when the French  
did fight

“ With women's hearts against the women's right.”

A Poem on the Civil War, by Mr. Abr. Cowley, p. 3.

Henry V. was advised by Archbishop Chichly to lay claim to his right in that kingdom, which descended to him from King Edward III. (See Echard's History of England, vol. i. p. 437, 438. Shakespeare's King Henry V. vol. iv. p. 9, 10.) Montaigne observes, (Essays, vol. II. ch. viii. p. 103.) That this law was never seen by any one.

See more, Brady's Complete History of England, p. 60. Puffendorf's Introduction to the History of Europe, p. 118, 119. Critical Essay of Nobility, 1720, p. 478.; and the tracts in French upon this subject, *Droit Publique du France*, No. 9245—46—47—48. *Catalog. Bibliothec. Harleian*, vol. ii. p. 557.

The Lyfians (according to Herodotus, *Clio*, p. 79. edit. Hen. Stephan. 1592.) had a custom peculiar to themselves, and the reverse of this: for amongst them, the relation by the mother's side was esteemed more honourable than that by the father; and for that reason the children took the mother's name.

Y. 379, 380. Or, as some nations use, give place,—And truckle to your mighty race.] The Spanish ladies do so,

### 332 THE LADY'S ANSWER, &c.

Let men usurp th' unjust dominion,  
As if they were the Better women.

(See Lady's Travels into Spain, part III. let. xii. p. 230.) But he alludes probably to the Muscovite women, who are far more obsequious in this respect than they should be: for Mr Purchas observes, (Pilgrims, 3d part, lib. ii. ch. 1. sect. iii. p. 230.) "That if there the woman is not beaten once a-week, she will not be good; and therefore they look for it weekly: and the women say, if their husbands did not beat them, they should not love them."

"Est Moscoviae quidam Alemannus, faber ferrarius, cognomento Jordanus, qui duxerat uxorem Rhutenam, ea cum apud maritum aliquandiu esset, hunc ex occasione quodam amice sic alloquitur: Cur me, conjux charissime, non amas? Respondet maritus, Ego vero te vehementer amo; querebat igitur maritus qualia signa vellet? Cui uxor, Nunquam (ait) me verberasti." *Rer. Muscovit. Comment. Sigismundi*, &c. 1600. *Ratio contrahendi Matrimonium*, p. 35.

We see, after all, (says Mr Byron), that the Widow is too cunning to be entrapped either by the threats or entreaties in the Knight's Letter. She gives him no hopes of peaceable compliance with his demands, nor any handle for a forced one, either in law or equity. Her satire is just, and so appositely levelled at the most sensible part of his passion, that all his pretensions to it are ridiculed and overthrown. All his hypocritical schemes and pretences being thus disappointed, we may conjecture that it wrought in his stubborn mind a conviction that they were vain, empty, and unavailable: and accordingly we find, that he now puts an end to a three years fruitless amour; for we hear nothing of him afterwards.

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